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LIFE AND LETTERS OF

THOMAS THELLUSSON CARTER

LIFE AND LETTERS

OF

THOMAS THELLUSSON CARTER

WARDEN OF THE HOUSE OF MERCY, CLEWER,
HON. CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, AND
FOR THIRTY-SIX YEARS RECTOR OF CLEWER

EDITED BY THE
VEN. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A.
ARCHDEACON OF CLEVELAND

WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

FOURTH EDITION

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PREFACE

THOMAS THELLUSSON CARTER, it must be acknowledged by all, whatever may be their beliefs or opinions, was one of the most distinguished men of his generation. He was distinguished above all else by his holiness. He lived for God. Those who had the privilege of close acquaintance with him, will bear about a remembrance of his life something like the impression of Alpine scenery, where one peak rose high above the rest and was resplendent with the sun's rays. His face was like the sunshine, ever bright.

His chief work, perhaps, was in the revival of Sisterhoods in our Communion, of which it has been said that when the history of English religion in the nineteenth century is written, that revival "will be looked back upon as one of the chief events, perhaps the chief." "Clewer" was the outcome of his devotion, and of his genius.

This volume, entitled "Life and Letters of Thomas Thellusson Carter," aims at most to enshrine and preserve some glimpses of the saintly man and what he achieved, and is no attempt at continuous biography. To delineate his beautiful character, to make a record of his ceaseless activities, to treat with any measure of completeness his literary work (which is said to cover one hundred and fifty entries in the Catalogue of the British Museum), to draw a picture of his marvellous self-sacrifice daily in the service of others, to attempt to enumerate his utterances in public, his speeches, sermons, addresses, etc., would require an immense volume. The object in writing a book of this size is to bring some outline of his

life and work, his example and ministry, within the reach of all; and to reveal his mind by printing some of his spiritual letters, a species of literature which is not very prolific amongst us. There are some subjects touched upon about which there is considerable diversity of opinion; in these pages will be found his mind upon them. His sympathies were broader than his convictions.

From these letters (for letters are personal revelations) will be seen the spirituality of his mind, his elevation above all that is earthly or self-seeking, his warmth of affection, his intense delight in natural beauty, and his loyal faithfulness to the Church of England.

His love for God seemed to quicken his natural sensibilities. He delighted in beautiful ceremonial, but in other respects his sympathies were with the early Tractarians, and he deplored in teaching and ritual whatever he thought went beyond the doctrine and practice of the English Church.

I take this opportunity of thanking all those who have kindly entrusted to my care letters which they had received from Canon Carter, or given me any help. To select from the letters those which seemed suitable for publication has been a matter of no small difficulty. I have also to thank the representatives of Dr. Pusey, Dr. Liddon, Dr. Bright, etc., for allowing me to make use of some of their communications.

It is hoped that the following pages may have caught something of the spirit of the Warden of Clewer, and may preserve some of the elements of his character for admiration and imitation. Such saintliness as his, is the best evidence of the truth and reality of the English Communion as a part of the True Church.

W. H. H.

KIRBY MISPERTON RECTORY,
November, 1903.

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LIFE AND LETTERS

OF

THOMAS THELLUSSON CARTER

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS.

THE Rev. Thomas Thellusson Carter, son of the Rev. Thomas Carter, for many years Vice-Provost of Eton, and of his wife, Mary, daughter of Henry Proctor, Esq., the younger son of a family long established at Clewer,[1] was born at Eton on the nineteenth of March, 1808, in a house which still stands at the entrance to Keate's Lane. His father was at this time Lower Master, and it was perhaps for that reason, and also because of the misery suffered by an elder brother when sent to one of the rough preparatory schools of those days, that the child began his Eton life when just six years old. This was less strange than it now appears, for some day-boys from the town then came so young, that on winter evenings nursemaids might be seen waiting outside the archway of Lower School to take them safe home.

One of Mr. Carter's earliest recollections was of being led by his father up the school on his first entrance. Another is of the great assemblage in the year of Waterloo, when the Prince Regent received the allied sovereigns and their generals at Frogmore. The Eton boys were invited to

[1] Mr. Carter was fond of telling how an ancestor, Henry Proctor, meeting Charles I. on his last journey to London, pulled off his hat to the royal prisoner, and was hustled into the ditch by the guards for so doing.

attend, and his family were accustomed to relate how he was taken up and kissed by Blucher, as being one of the youngest boys who were present at that wonderful gathering.

Among the treasured mementoes of these early days, is a water-colour sketch by William Evans "of Eton," representing Thomas Thellusson Carter as he appeared at the Montem of probably 1817, a little fair, round-faced boy in a light-blue jacket and trousers, and blue cap with white ostrich-plumes.

The school was then in a state of indiscipline hard to realize, and Mr. Carter was still a small boy when the outbreak known as the Great Rebellion took place, and the Upper School was wrecked. He remembered seeing a brick thrown at the head of a master who was looking from his drawing-room window, half hidden by the blinds, at the tumult below. He remembered also the "bed of justice," when Dr. Keate, standing amid the ruins of his shattered desk, expelled the five ringleaders in the presence of the assembled school. Order was restored with a firm hand, but the standard of manners and life was still low. Bear-baiting and cockfights were among the tolerated amusements; quarrels were settled by savage fights in the playing-fields; in one instance with a fatal result. Religious teaching was represented by a curious institution called "Prose." On Sunday afternoons the boys assembled in Upper School, and after an inaudible prayer, recited by one of the collegers, Dr. Keate read a portion of Blair's Sermons.

In T. T. Carter's early life, other and gentler influences predominated, for the twelve years of his school life were spent under his father's roof.

"This unbroken attachment to home, instead of a boy's usual separation from it, has, I have no doubt, had its effect on me," he wrote long afterwards. "Its loving care and thought for us all, one remembers with deepest thankfulness."

Many still living can remember the Vice-Provost in his

venerable age, his kindly smile and ready sympathy, and the unfailing interest with which he watched the progress of his grandsons, as one after another they passed through Eton. They remember also Mrs. Carter's stately presence, her fine features and bright, beautiful eyes, her keen pleasure in travel and in all new and interesting sights, her delight in flowers, and the love of art which she inherited from her father and transmitted to more than one of her children.

Both parents did their utmost to make their house a truly happy home to their large family. They formed a bright, merry party, and "Tom" was the favourite with all. "He was the brother to whom we all looked," writes one of his five sisters, who still survives.

The home was the centre of a cheerful society; books of all kinds abounded; a small but choice collection of pictures, of which the foundation had been laid by Mr. Proctor, was formed year by year. As the young people grew up, tours to Wales and Scotland were planned for their holiday pleasure.

The journal of one of these tours, kept by their son at the age of seventeen, for the pleasure of his parents, is still treasured. It is written in a clear, delicate hand, very different from that familiar to his friends in later years, when the writer worked under pressure of a large correspondence, and was illustrated by a sister, who became an excellent amateur artist. This book shows that the love of beautiful scenery, which to the end of his life was one of Mr. Carter's chief delights, was already developed.

"The road, winding round the base of a hill, brought us to a most enchanting view," he writes of Loch Fyne. "Immediately beneath lay the lake, spreading to the right into a large bay. On the banks was the town of Inverary, looking like a fairy city, and on the right of which was the castle and the whole range of the park, terminated by the fine peak of Dunnachoich, clothed with wood; mountains rose in the background, and toward the left, till they were lost in mist. The lake was perfectly calm, and I never saw the

reflection so beautiful. Every tree, every leaf, was entire, and the whole town seemed to sleep in the lake."

The Borrowdale mountains seen from Skiddaw at sunset "appeared like a sea of gold when stormy." The scenery of Derwentwater "is past all description. . . . The mixed splendour of the south end is excessive, and the dark clouds which alternately displayed and concealed it, rendered it still more beautiful." The journal abounds with passages such as these, showing a sensitive feeling for natural beauty not often seen in a boy so young.

He delighted not only in the scenery, but in the active exercise and rough and sometimes dangerous climbing necessary for the full enjoyment of a mountain country, and was gifted with a steady head and firm step, which he retained till far advanced in life. On one occasion he was caught by the sea near Whitby, and returned with unhoped-for speed to the anxious watchers, having climbed up the cliff, which the sailors had told his parents was impossible.

These household pleasures did not injure Mr. Carter's school life, or take him too much away from the society of his fellows. He played cricket and hockey, and was a proficient in fives, which in those days was played against the chapel wall, the deep buttresses of which formed the courts. Another favourite amusement was wood-turning, in which he was very skilful, and which he practised industriously, when the weather was too bad for outdoor games, at Rogerson's lathe. Of his studies, no record remains, but he took and kept a high place in the school, and left it Captain of Oppidans.

A letter from a young visitor, the sister of the Rev. William Oxenham, of Harrow, then lately married to his eldest sister, gives a pleasant glimpse of his family life at this time.

"*Eton College, October* 16, 1826.

. . . "I have had so much to do and see here that I have had little leisure for writing. . . . L. and Tom and I drove to

Sandpit Gate and saw the royal animals, and beauties they are! We first saw thirteen kangaroos hopping about in a paddock, then some lovely peacocks of all colours, then a pig deer, which is very pretty, notwithstanding its name. Then Mr. Lewis, a very interesting looking young artist, came out and took us into another paddock, where under a shed, overshadowed by fine oaks, stood his easel and a picture he was painting of the animals and their keeper, old Clarke, who was standing by with a Java deer, which was just sketched in. Close by was a shed, in which was a beautiful white stag from the Burman Empire, and in an adjoining paddock, also railed off, two extraordinary birds, called emus, as large as ostriches and more odd looking. . . . The whole was enchanting, quite like a fairy-tale. . . . I saw the cottage, but not the king, though Mr. Lewis said he was expecting him every moment. We could not wait, which I thought tantalizing *to a degree*, but they all indulge me in the slightest wish so much that I would not say I wished it, for I knew Tom wanted to be at home, as it was the day before he went. He was a great loss to our party; I think he has one of the most delightful dispositions I ever met with. L. is a dear girl, not the least like what I had imagined; in fact, they are all very engaging, and Mrs. Carter quite a mother to me. . . . We had a delightful musical evening here on Friday; Venua played exquisitely on his violin, E. C." (probably the Rev. Edward Coleridge) "on the violoncello, and Mr. C. Yonge on his flute, L. on the harp, and E. on the pianoforte."

In 1826 Mr. Carter went to Christ Church. King's College, Cambridge, would have seemed his more probable destination, but for the fact that his place in the school was so high for his age, that in order to try for the scholarship he must have been placed in a lower form. This his father's tender pride would not suffer, and to this seeming accident he owed his Oxford training. Few details of his University life can now be gathered, for all those who shared it have passed away. No doubt many letters were exchanged between the boy and the home which he had never before quitted for more than a few weeks, but none have been preserved, except three boyish epistles to his sisters. One of these, written shortly after his arrival at Oxford, gives his first impressions of his new life.

"*Christ Church, April* 30.

"My dear L.,

"Conceive a room about eighteen feet long by fifteen broad; at one end the door, with a bookcase on one side, at the opposite end a long row of cupboards, painted yellow and white, or rather by this time having degenerated into no colour at all. On one side is a Saxo-Gothic fireplace, with a bookcase, and at each extremity a door, more suited to a barn, one leading into a servants' room, and another into my bedroom. On the opposite side the ceiling falls in a direct slope on a wall of a few feet in height. In the slope are two windows, against one of which rises an angle of stone and mortar, perfectly excluding all apology for a view, and through the other a few square inches of the 'empyrean vault of heaven' is discernible through a plenitude of iron bars. . . . The fireplace is exceedingly hot and the windows very cold, so I have the advantage of a West Indian sun and a Siberian frost, concentrated into me. My bedroom affords just room enough to turn in. The bed is too short by a considerable number of inches, but that is a trifle. Altogether I shall be very comfortable by next term. I have now settled myself, and shall begin to read to-morrow. By-the-by, I find my books scratched very much, by what I know not, except it may be bad packing; also be it known, that, instead of twelve bottles of Bucellas, I have only received eleven.

"I am now very nearly settled, but I must own that I feel rather solitary, having always been accustomed to the pleasures of home; and in addition to that, though I know a great many men as Eton men, yet I scarcely know one intimately, and indeed have not found one of my most particular Eton friends. That will come round in time. Pusey, Freshfield, et cetera, have called on me, and even the gaunt form of Plumptre's cousin made his way very kindly up into my room yesterday, and asked me to breakfast to-morrow. About a fortnight ago I was asked to go down in the Christ Church boat; I accordingly went, and I found myself imperceptibly brought into a regular course of training. Coming up the same evening, I was put between the stroke and a man who is general teacher. Since that I have been down every day, and am to pull in the second boat. The other day we went down to Abingdon. I have got to know by this several very pleasant men, and have found it altogether very satisfactory. Consequently I have not opened my bats, and I do

not know whether I shall, as playing here is very inconvenient. . . . The other day I wined with one of the Goulds" (afterwards his brothers-in-law), "and met Merivale; my father will know who I mean. Also tell him that I heard Durnford[1] up in the schools, and he did capitally, I believe, in everything, and is reckoned certain of his class. . . . Pray write as soon as you can, as you cannot tell the pleasure it is to me. I look forward to Montem most anxiously."

Soon after, he writes to his eldest sister, then staying with the parents of her future husband, the Rev. W. Oxenham, in Devonshire.

"*Christ Church, May* 11.

"By degrees I have been entirely reconciled to this life, and now like it very much, as I have become acquainted with various very agreeable men, though I find scarcely any Eton friend. As cricket is particularly inconvenient, I have become a sailor. I am rather tired of the boat, as it has become a bore, and I shall shirk it when I can. The races have begun, and continue twice every week, and I am obliged to pull in them, as I at first agreed. So much for myself. Your letter was sent to me from Eton, and I pitied your situation greatly, though you must feel differently. . . . I expect to go (to Eton) to-morrow. I went a short time ago to Short, and he told me that he certainly would not give me leave till Monday, even if the Dean did, and told me I was a great fool for going at all. So I put him down in my estimation next to the Provost and Polehampton; but, however, he told me to-day that the Dean had given somebody else leave for a longer time, and thought I might get it also. So he is an angel. I have been to one large party at Mrs. W.'s, and I was so sickened that I will never go to another. . . . I thought of proposing blind-man's buff; but, however, the ladies looked over prints, and the gentlemen played with their fingers, till there was some music, which was amusing."

To the same sister he wrote in the year following—

"*Christ Church, March* 22, 1827.

"My dearest M.,

"Most humble and contrite I have taken up the pen, trusting for forgiveness to your generosity alone, as I

[1] Richard Durnford, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

have nothing to say for myself. . . . My conscience was pricked immensely at the receipt of your parcel last week, but I did not write immediately, that I might give you my opinion of your first essay in preserves, and for that reason dared to transgress your positive order. I am really much obliged to you for thinking of me, for I did not deserve it. The contents were very good, considering you are young in the world. . . . I have been going on in the old monotonous way, except now and then a stupid party at ——'s. I was greatly disgusted a short time ago at not being able to get a ticket for the Woodstock ball. W. had promised me one, but on the Sunday before, when I went to demand it, he had not even one for himself. The consequence was, it was too late to get one anywhere else. . . . Of course, you know that I am singing away like a nightingale, and that I have a tenor voice, and that I already come one octave and a half with great effect. . . . Tell Oxenham by his recommendations I have been attending Buckland, to my great amusement, though this (mineralogy) is the less interesting of the two."

"I went to Christ Church in 1827.[1] The same loving care that had watched over me all my earlier years then decided for me what has always been a cause of great thankfulness. Dr. Pusey was then, or just afterwards (1828), Hebrew Professor, living, where he always remained, in the corner house of Tom Quad. Gladstone was in the year behind me. So also was Hamilton, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Charles Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews. Vowler Short, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, was my tutor; Longley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the Fellow and Senior Censor. Newman was at Oriel, and for the last (about) two years of my time Vicar of St. Mary's. But it was the object of the College authorities to prevent our going to hear him preach, and the Chapel services were so arranged as to make it impossible. Hurrell Froude once came to my rooms to meet Nutcombe Oxenham" (brother of W. Oxenham, and for many years Vicar of Modbury), "otherwise I knew nothing of the Oriel men. Their fame had not as yet begun to be thought of among undergraduates. Pusey, my father's pupil at Eton, was kind to me. I was occasionally at his house. But I was unconscious at that time of

[1] The absence of letters is made up for by an account of these years written by himself many years afterwards in a precious volume of notes compiled for his children.—Ed.

MR. CARTER ON LEAVING ETON.

(*From the Painting in Eton College.*)

any such influence as afterwards so affected me. There was then no private intercourse between tutor and undergraduate. I believe Jelf, some years afterwards, was the first to break through this class distinction. I would add a few words concerning my Christ Church tutor, Vowler Short. There was a fatherly kindness in his dealings and intercourse, though, as before stated, there were at that time no familiar or friendly communications between tutor and pupil. The only private advice I remember ever receiving from him was on asking him to give me hints for writing sermons. He told, as an example, his plan of writing his sermons, and his idea what they should be; that they should resemble a jelly-bag—a good round base, tapering smoothly down to a point; that he divided his sermons into three heads and a conclusion, and taking a head a day, as he rode, each separately worked out and thought of during the ride.

"Stacey, Fellow of New College, an old Eton private tutor and friend of ours, asked me continually to dine with him on Sundays, and a most pleasant engagement it was. Evensong (New College choir was then second only, if second, to that of Magdalen College), then dinner with the Fellows in Hall, and wine afterwards in their common room. I was quite at home with Stacey. Mr. Wingfield, the surgeon, was also a family friend, and his wife, a great musical amateur, gave very pleasant evenings.

"In the summer term I joined a party of men in hiring a four-oared boat, and latterly I pulled sixth in the College Torpid. Tennis was too expensive, though I sometimes played. I attended with great pleasure Buckland's Geological Lectures. While I was at Oxford, Scott's novels had come out, and it was one of the delights of that time. Previously, while at school, Mrs. Radcliffe's Romances had been one's only food of this kind. My favourite reading as a boy had been the 'Seven Champions of Christendom.' I slept with it under my pillow. After this time I enjoyed Richardson's novels; but Scott carried the day.

"My tutor was disgusted at my deciding not to work at Mathematics after my Little Go. I had no mind or head for it. Classics and Philosophy were enough for me. The greatest boon I owe to Oxford teaching is the knowledge and love of Butler's Analogy, then the authorized standard of Philosophy, though no longer so. To my mind it has always been the true philosophical ground-work in support of the Mosaic and Christian dispensation and religion generally.

"We were, at the time of my leaving Oxford, on the very verge of the Tractarian movement, but as yet there was, as far as I knew, no sign of its approach. All had been as it was at Eton, a mere routine of Chapel going; at Christ Church on week-days a shortened form of Latin prayers. To be often late in coming in, after the closing of Tom Gate, which was at 9 p.m., seemed the only thing that brought reproof or question as to one's conduct.

"I passed my last examination early in 1831, half a year later than was intended, in consequence of my awaking on the morning of the day I was to go into the schools with an attack of jaundice. After my examination I went abroad with Charles Woodcock" (a lifelong friend, for many years Rector of Chardstock) "and Burr, friend of his. It was an expedition of pleasurable excitement of no ordinary kind. We walked through part of Belgium, and up the Rhine as far as Coblentz. In one of the inns on the Rhine, happening to find an English paper, I there first saw the Class List." His name was in the First Class of Classics (Lit. Hum).

"Woodcock had to return, leaving me and Burr, and we two went down the Tyrol to Venice. We then approached Venice by sea, its towers gradually rising above the waters.

"On my return home, I was to have met my father, mother, and sisters in Switzerland, but an *émeute* in Paris unhappily hindered their expedition. I returned alone, walking over the Albula Pass.

"The year after this, I think it was, I stood for a Fellowship at Oriel. I should never have thought of this, but was persuaded by a friend of ours, Jenkins, an Oriel Fellow, afterwards Greek Professor at Durham. I failed, as might have been expected; but so did Henry Wilberforce, who was also a candidate. Eden won it, one of the 'twelve good men' of whom Burgon wrote. He became Tutor at Oriel."

In the winter of 1831–32 he went to Paris, "thinking to learn French, and took lodgings with a French family in the Rue de Bac; but the Woodcocks were passing the winter in Paris that same year, and the temptation was great to leave the French family, and think that a French tutor on the Tuileries' side of Paris might sufficiently serve my purpose; and so I made the change, and lost my chance of learning French."

The only family tradition which can be added to this account is of his having been sworn in as special constable during the machine riots of 1830, and being called out at night, in company with his friend, Mr. W. Evans, the well-known artist, to some riotous scenes in the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER II.

ORDINATION AND EARLIEST PAROCHIAL WORK.

Thomas Thellusson Carter had always been intended by his father for Holy Orders, and he himself "never had any other thought." He was ordained Deacon on Sunday, October 21, 1832, by Bishop Burgess, in Salisbury Cathedral, to the curacy of St. Mary's, Reading, Berkshire being then in the diocese of Salisbury.

It is characteristic of the time that his rector, the Rev. H. H. Milman, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, went, on his first arrival, for a six-weeks' holiday, leaving the parish in charge of the young deacon. The only services, besides those of Sunday, were on Wednesday and Friday, when the clerk was accustomed to keep watch for a possible congregation, and if he saw no one coming, would say to the curate, "No prayers, sir, to-day." Even when the rector was at home, Mr. Carter was sometimes left with unexpected responsibilities. Mr. Milman was occasionally called on, on Sunday, for a *Times* article, and the curate would have to preach with scant time for preparation.

"Milman was at that time rather under a cloud because of his 'History of the Jews,' of which he said to me that it had been published fifty years too soon, a very true prophecy. It was one of the first-fruits of the Broad School, then just struggling into life through the growing study of German literature. Milman's sermons were very elegant compositions, much liked by the educated—of the essay kind. He once said that he had almost exhausted the Scripture subjects —an essay-like idea. I thought he knew his parish well.

"Milman and his wife were both very kind to me. But I was most at home at the Moncks' at Coley Park, friends of my father's. Invitations came from country families out of regard to my own family, and from townspeople because of my position in the town. And there was a very hospitable spirit all round me. Altogether the social calls were too much, and I was thankful when, at the end of my first year, my father becoming Vicar of Burnham, there came what seemed a clear call to seek another sphere free from these social entanglements."

The Rev. T. T. Carter, to use his most familiar name, was ordained priest at Buckden on Sunday, December 22, 1833, by Dr. Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, a diocese which then included Buckinghamshire, and became curate to his father.

"My Burnham curacy was a most happy time. I lived at the vicarage. My father left me free to do what I could in the parish, my dear mother giving me all possible encouragement also. The Wesleyans were active at that time. The wife of one of the local preachers kept the Church Sunday-school; her husband used to attend the church, and both, I think, at times communicated there. Wesleyan preachers were very busy in the outer hamlets; I owe a debt to one of these preachers. He called on me one morning, and began an earnest talk as to the spiritual needs of the people, and their desire of being visited, with many details of their state. I was young and inexperienced, and could not but be struck with his earnestness. And I date from that time a change in my habits. I had been accustomed to one's old college use of reading, or other like occupation, in the morning, and outdoor exercise in the afternoon, only substituting parish visiting for the constitutional. But I then began to give up to the parish the morning also.

"It was, I think, soon after going to Burnham, that I made the voyage to Madeira. It was thought good for my health. I stayed about a fortnight in the island, while the vessel, a brig of the old type, was unlading and relading. It was the custom then for wine-merchants to receive visitors into their houses. The hotel was an indifferent one, and Mr. Dickinson, a cousin of the Grover family, kindly entertained me. The return for the hospitality was an order for wine. It was a delightful opportunity of seeing the exceeding

beauty and luxuriance of the island before the rich wonders of its vintage were destroyed. The vintage was going on while I was there.

"At that time we were at a great loss as to parish work, without training, and without guidance. At that time I had my first experience of a parish trouble, the breaking up of the parish choir, which, with various wind instruments, had established itself in the gallery in a very independent position. It was a time when we had only Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms, and there was a strong feeling at the time that one ought to keep to what was in the Prayer-book. As the choir broke up, I went over to Windsor in a great extremity, and found B., a shoemaker in Bier Lane, who, with his solitary flageolet, commenced a new and more docile form of choir.

"There was equally an entire want of guidance as to what books or what line of theology one should adopt. This want of guidance ran throughout. It was while we were thus floating without authority to guide us, that the Oxford tracts appeared. It is impossible to exaggerate the immediate effect. In reading them as they came out, one felt a sense of interest and earnestness in religious doctrines one had not known before. Doctrines new to one were vividly taught, and those with which one was familiar, but had held in a somewhat perfunctory way, started into fresh life. The Church, its Priesthood and Sacraments, acquired a reality unfelt before. Calls then came from Oxford to vote on critical questions, and then one met old friends and talked over the new teaching. 'Have you read the tract on Apostolic Succession? What does it all mean?' I remember asking. All questions seemed to present themselves in a new way.

"It was while I was at Burnham I first saw the Eastward position taken at the Altar. I can still recall the surprise it gave me. It was at the old Margaret Street chapel, on the site of which All Saints' Church now stands. Oakley was then vicar, and a good deal of talk was caused about this new departure in celebrating. I went often on purpose to see him celebrate, as many others did. It struck one with a new idea of the service.

"As the Oxford movement advanced, there was no difficulty in learning what books to read. The 'Library of the Fathers' and the 'Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology' became our standard, and a rich abundance of material on similar lines

was constantly being supplied. These influences came to bear on me more on my marriage."

On November 26, 1835, Mr. Carter married Mary Anne, daughter of John Gould, Esq., then residing at Amberd, near Taunton. His wife's girlhood had been spent in the neighbourhood of Totnes, where her father lived before his removal to Somersetshire. Dartington Rectory, then held by Archdeacon Froude, and Dartington Hall, where Isaac Williams found a wife, were close by.

"Hurrell Froude had been in early days a playmate of my dear wife and her sisters. They were diligent readers of the *British Magazine*, the periodical of which Hugh James Rose was the editor, and in which Newman's and Keble's short poems first appeared. It was distinctly the forerunner of the *Tracts for the Times*, even as the *Christian Year* was a deeper herald of the coming change. I was thus introduced into a new order of family life and a new set of associations on different Church foundations from my own. Devonshire thought among serious minded families was of a different stamp from that of Eton. The Oxenhams, to whom I and mine were doubly related, were also close intimates of the Froudes, as well as of other Devonshire higher Churchmen, and among them of the Cornishes, Keble's friends.

"Burnham has ever remained to me a most precious memory, the place of my first real ministerial work and of my early married life. I left it at Easter, 1838, for Piddlehinton, six miles from Dorchester."

During this time Mr. Carter's first printed works appeared.

"The Eton system of Education Vindicated, and its Capabilities of Improvement Considered," a pamphlet published in 1834, contains a striking passage on the value of daily service in schools and colleges.

"That man is not to be envied whose heart does not turn with love and reverence to those collegiate chapels where, alone in our land, the God to whom the eyes of all look up for their daily bread, receives His daily offering of

public praise and thanksgiving. . . . They are the links that bind us to past times and to modes of life which are no more. They realize to our senses the habits of devotion that prevailed in Christendom, when religion was all in all. They are the standing memorials and visible proofs of the deep, heartfelt impressions that Christianity wrought in the world when it was first preached. . . . The summons to chapel at the commencement and close of every day, the recurring consciousness of the sacred duty, the constant representation of their dependence upon their Maker, the contrast of the devout ceremony and its solemn warnings, with the scene and the conversation which may have just been left, the support and direction afforded to the transient and wavering aspirations after better things,—these are influences so congenial to all our purer feelings, so beneficially associated with the general training of young minds, that their effects can be destroyed or impaired only by some unnatural perverseness or insensibility."

A short tract addressed "To the Parishioners of Burnham," "on the Blessings of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," was published in 1835, in which there breathes already that love of the Blessed Sacrament, though differently expressed to what it would have been in later years, which marked the Founder of the Confraternity. The Christian "sees with the eye of faith the Lord Jesus standing at His holy table. He draws near with a full assurance of faith: as he eats the broken bread, he knows the Spirit of his Lord is feeding his heart; as he drinks of the cup of wine, he knows that Christ is sprinkling His Blood upon his heart; he knows that the unspeakable consolation spreading over his spirit is the very peace of God which passeth all understanding, that the lifting up of his heart is the love of God 'shed abroad over his heart by the Holy Ghost that is given him;' that the new power over sin he then feels is an unusual outpouring of the Spirit of Christ."

This was followed in 1836 by a paper on "The Duties and Blessings of the Christian Sabbath, considered with Reference to the Present State of Society," Mr. Carter's last publication while Curate of Burnham.

A book of MSS. sermons, preached in 1837–38, is also in existence, written in the same clear, beautiful hand as the Scottish journals of his boyhood, and prepared, like them, as a gift to his parents, to whom the volume is dedicated "with feelings of sincerest affection and reverence."

In 1838 Mr. Carter was presented by his father to the Rectory of Piddlehinton, a living in the gift of Eton College, situated about six miles from Dorchester, and twelve from Weymouth, and he entered on his new work at Easter in that year.

The change from the atmosphere of Eton and Oxford from congenial society, from the rising stir of Church life in which he had already begun to take part, to this solitary village, which lies, surrounded by orchards and water-meadows, in a valley amid the Dorsetshire downs, was great indeed. Of his clerical neighbours, two or three were strongly Calvinistic, the greater number were sportsmen or farmers. "What will he find to do?" one of them is reported to have said, on hearing that the new rector neither shot nor fished.

A letter written four or five years later, when he had left the neighbourhood, will give an idea of the society in which Mr. Carter now found himself.

"*Piddletrenthide, Sept.* 24.

"My dear Carter,

"Many thanks for your last kind letter, to which I will reply as well as I can, though I assure you I feel more in need of advice than able to give it, on the interesting subjects introduced by your comprehensive questions. . . . I am now going to give you an account of our Visitation, etc., which I know will interest you much. The Bishop's charge you will, of course, see, and no doubt you know by the questions put us what it was going to be. Everything went off as usual at first—an excellent sermon, of course, by the preacher for the day, Mr. Waugh; many more reverend brethren addressed than were present—as usual. Dinner as usual. The Bishop kind and mild and gentle as usual, and by his behaviour, as well as by his charge, likely, one would

have thought, to bind the hearts of all as one man in love towards each other, and respect towards himself in his office at least. The Bishop proposed Church and Queen and Queen Adelaide as usual. Mr. G. made a long speech as usual, containing some matter and more tautology than was suitable to our organs of digestion in the midst of ducks and potatoes, and port wine and nuts, and grapes and apples; and Mr. G.'s speech called forth a speech from Mr. W., which, however, much to be lamented at the time, inasmuch as it gave evident pain to our good Bishop, will do good by opening his eyes. Mr. W. objected to the charge, told the Bishop he had contradicted himself, wanted to make him eat his own words, and, I believe, thought by one vigorous attack to prevent its publication. What must have been his chagrin at seeing his lordship quickly drink his wine, and, in the name of the clergy, his own health, because they did not do it for him, for they had no time, and then get up apparently to make a reply. The reply was to this effect: his lordship felt sorry that any objection was made to his charge. Of course, having been requested to print it, and having promised to do so, he should print it; hoped that no one would be so silly as to think that he should consider Mr. W. answerable for what he had said, and concluded by assuring them that he did not consider it necessary to make any further reply. The conversation was immediately changed, and Mr. G. spoke of the comparative anatomy of potato-gardens and national schools, and this was followed by certain most valuable observations on the part of Mr. G. on turnip flies, riots, turnpikes, railways, etc., etc. The only desideratum was one of Billy Butler's plum puddings to make the thing perfect of its kind."

The writer of this letter, the Rev. James Hicks, was a bright exception to the general dreariness, a really like-minded and sympathetic friend. Another was found in Arthur H. D. Acland, better known, perhaps, by the name which he bore in later life, as Mr. Troyte of Huntsham, who then lived in Dorchester. He, like Mr. Hicks, had been deeply affected by the Oxford movement, and threw himself heart and soul into the struggle to raise up a new and vigorous life in the Church. His little book of "Hours" was one of the earliest of such recovered helps to devotion, and his "Daily

Steps towards Heaven," a book of Meditations founded on a Latin work, but selected and arranged by himself, is still in use.

Mr. Carter needed the refreshment of such congenial society. The parish seems to have been sadly neglected. The most earnest people were Wesleyans. There was no Church school in the place. He succeeded in forming a dame's school, and placed a converted Wesleyan girl as mistress. A chief object was the restoration of the church. To earn money for this purpose, he took pupils, and by this means, with some help from subscriptions, the work was accomplished. "The removal of the gallery," he wrote, "was a terrible grievance, and so was the breaking up of the choir, to make a fresh beginning, as had been done at Burnham; but the main body of the people bore all this very kindly."

Greater trouble was caused by what seems a very trivial matter. It was the custom that the rector, at Christmas should give a mince pie, a loaf of bread, and a quart of ale, to each individual in the parish, of every class, character, and age, down to the baby in arms. The ale was brewed at the Rectory, and a baker came from Dorchester to make the mince pies. This appeared a very undesirable waste of money, but the custom was of such antiquity that Mr. Carter thought it well to consult a lawyer before attempting to abolish it.

"With the sum thus spent (£10), I planned a clothing club for the poor, using the money for a 'bonus' to aid contributors. There was a great sensation, and the farmers, who used to come on tithe days for a supper at the Rectory, refused to appear ever afterwards. I believe all reasonable people felt it was a right thing to do. I trust it was so. The custom seemed to me most hurtful. But some, I am afraid, never forgave me. After I had been some while at Clewer, once on a Christmas Day a large parcel arrived, and at the bottom of a heap of rags and straw appeared a mince pie."

A glimpse of his home life, in which he found relaxation from these parish cares, is afforded by a letter to a little daughter, which is also very characteristic of the writer's mind.

"*Piddlehinton, May* 29 (1840).

"I feel a very great desire to know how you are, and how you are behaving, and if you obey everybody in everything, and particularly dearest Mama, and if you do your lessons very nicely. I shall hope to hear you read very much better when you come home. And above all, I hope that you do all you can to please and comfort dearest Mama, now that I am away, and cannot do anything for her. You must always remember that you cannot love or obey her too much, and that the way to show you love her is to do all she bids you to do.

"I have been very busy in the garden; I watered your garden with the large watering-pot yesterday evening, and I saw many of your seeds coming up, amongst the rest some sweet peas; and there is a pretty rose close to your garden, which is in full bloom.

"You cannot tell how many beautiful plants I have been preparing for dearest Mama. I planted so many to-day that we could not find enough things to cover them. We got all the sea-kale pots, an old beehive, some boxes from the tool-house, besides the flower-pots, and so we had enough. . . . Gilbert (one of the pupils) is very fond of the garden, and helps me greatly. I think you will like him, for he is very kind."

Mr. Carter lived and worked at Piddlehinton for four years, and here, in 1841, his only son was born. The relaxing climate tried him greatly, and he was compelled to spend two winters at Weymouth, for health's sake. In 1842 he obtained leave of absence, and after this he returned to Burnham as his father's curate.

He remained at Burnham for two years, residing in a small house—since pulled down—with a large and pretty garden, called the Priory Cottage, and situated nearly opposite the house now bearing that name. At this time we find the first traces of an anxiety and trouble which often recurred

during the troubled years which followed the first bright dawn of the Oxford movement. A lady, whose faith in the English Church was shaken, came to him for advice. Mr. Carter laid the case before Dr. Pusey, and thus began an intercourse which lasted, growing ever closer and nearer, for forty years. His letter is not forthcoming, but some passages may be given from his answers. It is without date of year, but the allusion to Newman seems to place it before 1843.

"My dear Carter,

"I am at any time glad to hear from you, especially in a case when I can be of any use. I received your letter just as I was setting out on a journey, which prevented my answering it at once. I at first adopted the same plan as yourself with regard to those who were in perplexity about the R[oman] C[hurch], arguing on points of detail. But afterwards it became plain to me that these were not the grounds upon which their conduct was meant to depend, that it was appealing to them on subjects beyond their reach, and at the same time taking them, by controversy, off from themselves and their own responsibilities. It was making them judges of churches, instead of teaching them to be obedient children of that in which God had placed them. It was, too, misleading them, as though they could judge, whereas they cannot judge; *e.g.* supposing that the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome depended on a certain number of the passages of the Fathers and could be proved or disproved by them, yet simple minds must be entirely dependent on others as to any questions about the genuineness of passages, their interpretation, so that it was only a circuitous way in which at last they would depend upon one's self and one's own authority, as completely as if they at once avowedly did so. It is plain that for the main part of our flocks, the little ones and lambs of Christ, those who are His special care, this is not the way intended. Their convictions must rest on something more immediate and cognizable by all.

"This seems to me to be supplied by St. Paul's rule, 'Wherein a man was called, there let him abide with God.' It was not meant that he should change; all change implies something defective; the plain line, unless something intervene extraordinary, is to work out our salvation where He hath called us. Unless there be some great cause, breaking His order, it is not our business to go back to first principles,

or examine foundations, but to 'build ourselves up in that most holy faith' which we have received, to live in and on that faith, not to examine for ourselves whether it be the faith. If we are placed where obedience is required, it is our duty mostly to obey, not to inquire. This, which is the plain duty of most simple Christians, is their privilege also. Life is not long enough for endless disputations, what we are to believe, where we are to be. It is for acting, growing in grace, not for disputing. The only question, then, seems to be whether we are in a body founded and ordered by God, which has the presence of Christ and the grace of the Sacraments; in other words, whether, where we are, we have the covenanted means of salvation. Now, to a member of a Church, her very existence as a Church guarantees this . . . but now, in proportion to increasing difficulties, God seems to be bestowing upon us nearer and more immediate proofs, which appeal more directly to our consciences, and aid us more than abstract truth is wont to do. It, too, meets graciously the very difficulties we have. We are pressed from without with the question, 'Have we not, by having lost visible unity, and being severed from the rest of Christendom, lost also the privilege of a Church, while we preserve its form?' To this He has now given us the answer by tokens of His Presence among us. Every one, one may say the whole world, those of our Communion, and those who have rejected us, see that a great work is being carried on among us. Never, perhaps, has such a change been brought over the face of a Church as here in ours in the last ten years. And the work is evidently with our whole Church. It is not that a few individuals are being called out, it is a leavening of the whole Church; everything is in motion and everything in our direction; things prosperous and adverse, near or remote, in Church and State, all have one effect. Whatever change is made is towards truth and restoration. Nothing can be touched but it turns to good; every one receives something more than he did some years past; even those who oppose what is going on are themselves carried onward and take higher ground than they did before. With growth of truth there is also growth in life; there is everywhere, among the young especially, a deeper devotional life; children are often not what they used to be, but out of their mouths praise is perfected; we have deepening holiness, enlarged self-denial, stricter self-discipline, deepening humility, both in individuals and as a Church. There is an earnest

yearning for something better than we are; all are amazed at it, forcing a R[oman] C[atholic] after so long separation (to) look with interest and attention towards our Church, begin to acknowledge it, and to think individuals safe in it. One can only say, 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' . . . I can hardly understand how people, who see what God is doing, can think of leaving the place of His Presence. . . . I may say (though this is very subordinate, knowing the tempers of many who have gone over and those who, being tempted, have stayed) I should have no doubt, on this ground only, with whom I should wish my portion to be . . . I have, I think, found it most useful when people's minds have been disturbed to lead them to look back in what this disturbance originated. 'The most peaceful, dutiful, humble minds are not disturbed; how is it that I am?' . . . Does our friend know Mr. N[ewman's] sermon, 'Obedience the Remedy for Religious Perplexity'? Then his three articles in the *B[ritish] C[ritic]* on 'Geraldine,'[1] the Catholicity of the English Church, and on private judgment, are the best I know for settling a mind perplexed on this point. . . .

"Remember me very gratefully to your father, whenever you have an opportunity, and believe me,

"Yours most faithfully,

"E. B. PUSEY.

"Vigil of S. Simon and S. Jude." [1842?]

Mr. Carter kept a copy of his answer to this letter.

"*Burnham, Nov.* 2.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"On returning home after a rather long absence, I have been fully occupied with arrears of parochial business, or I would not have so long delayed writing to you to thank you for so kindly complying with my request, indeed so very far beyond my utmost expectations. You will excuse me, I hope, for saying that I have ever had cause of deepest gratitude to you for your publick writings, but above all, now for your great help to me personally. I have thought much on your views, and hope to act upon them, trusting that I may not myself be insensible to their power.

[1] A religious novel, which Dr. Pusey considered "likely to do extensive mischief."

"I do not know whether I am yet blinded and hindered by the lower interests of controversy, and ought at once to lay aside all discussion on details such as I spoke of; but while I endeavour to confirm myself and to quiet others in the simply submissive faith you describe, yet, in the case now before me, I hardly quite feel that I can pass by all the details of the question. At least I hope that I should not be erring against your principles if I *explain*, where I can, the difficulties and objections which have influenced ——, for she has read much of the opposite teaching, and rests on passages of authority which she has seen quoted in evidence; and I feel that those passages will lie in her mind and possess it, unless cleared away. And thus much I think I might try to do, consistently with your principles, for clear explanation, and answering difficulties already strongly felt, is not disputation. What I propose, then, to myself is, to suggest answers to all false grounds or evidences which I may find existing, and no further, always at the same time trying to lead her to live in the spirit, and on the principles you have unfolded to me. My opportunities are rare, but I have already written on the plan which I mention. I earnestly hope that such a method would not be censured by you.

"If I feel the need of your help again, I will take advantage of your kindness. I find that the discussions on the great principles of the Church system are now rapidly descending from the higher to the lower classes even in the country, and agitating the minds of many. Within a few days I have been grieved to find a much sterner and stronger opposition to them, even in our adherents, than I had expected. The extent of latitudinarianism and self-dependent judgment seems to open to me more and more.

"I am sometimes at a loss to know how to speak on such subjects to the more unlearned classes. They seem quite unprepared for the spirit of dependent faith, which would submissively lend itself to any authoritative teaching.

"They are incapable of seeing the grounds on which such a spirit rests; as incapable they are of discussing the question and seeing the force of arguments. I speak generally.

"I am at a loss often to know whether it be better to speak boldly, content merely to witness to the doctrines; trusting that God will cause them to work as He wills, or else to act upon a kind of economy, leading them they know not how, to the end in view.

"But this latter seems scarcely possible now with the adults, for they are demanding things and realities; and are questioning the very groundwork, and there is no keeping off from the very conclusions themselves. It seems as if there must be an actual collision, and that we must openly take our stand on the ground that is to be won, and show them that they must come there too, and not merely guide them up to it by such an imperceptible track as might be practicable in other conditions of the national mind. I feel that we are driven to this, and though I would most earnestly avoid everything which might make me wear, in the eyes of my parishioners, the semblance of what they deem a party, yet I am impressed with the conviction that the occasions of the time do not admit of this, and that, even in less important posts of the holy Church, a decided and bold avowal of great principles must be made, meekly indeed as we may, but yet unequivocally. It seems necessary now for the triumph of Truth, come though it may in other generations. Anything like doubt, or what has been *falsely* called (as I suppose) moderation, seems to have no right place now. I am speaking more of the minister's tone in conversation with his people than in his preaching, for it is then that the difficulty is generally most felt.

"But I ought not thus to detain; and would close with again expressing my very sincere gratitude for your kindness.

"Yours most faithfully,

"T. T. Carter."

CHAPTER III.

CLEWER.

In the spring of 1844 Mr. Carter resigned Piddlehinton for the living of Clewer, which is in the gift of Eton College, and here he began the work which was to continue for fifty-seven years, and with which his name will be always associated.

The parish, though perhaps not much more populous than at present, was far larger in extent, and included a considerable part of the town of Windsor. It had been neglected to a degree which now appears almost incredible. It had usually been held by a Fellow of Eton, and the rector was frequently non-resident. As the Vicar of Windsor was also incumbent of Datchet, and preferred to live in that pleasant village, it followed that these two parishes (now divided into four, with eight churches) were served by two curates; and even these were not always on the spot, for at one time the Curate of Windsor lived at an hotel in Piccadilly, coming down for Sunday; and on other days, when his services were required for marriages or funerals.

The heart of George Augustus Selwyn, afterwards the great Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield, but then a private tutor at Eton, was stirred by the sight of this spiritual desert, and he with some like-minded friends, began active work among the neglected people. One fruit of their devotion greatly affected Clewer. Mainly through their efforts the church of Holy Trinity was built, and consecrated at the close of 1844, for the town part of Clewer, which was

CLEWER RECTORY.

then formed into a new parish. They had also procured the building of a school-chapel at Dedworth, a hamlet about two miles from the town, and here one of the Eton workers, the Rev. Stephen Hawtrey (who became the first incumbent of Holy Trinity, Windsor), laboured for some time. He formed a small choir, which he used to take with him, passing the whole Sunday at Dedworth, and resting between the services in a cottage or in the fields.

Then, when Mr. Carter began his work, he found some new life already stirring, but the long past neglect left bitter fruits.

For some time the parish had been under sequestration, owing, it was said, to the intemperate habits of the late rector, and though for two years the *locum tenens* (the Rev. R. J. Gould, Mr. Carter's brother-in-law, afterwards Curate-in-charge of Windsor) had done all that was possible to amend matters, the time was too short to produce much effect.

The ancient and now beautiful church was in worse than disrepair. Some of the massive pillars had been cut away and the walls held up with iron clamps. The little churchyard, being over full, a second had been formed—not adjoining, but across a road (in which was the parish pound)—a desolate place indeed, with no visible sign of its consecration. When the first cross was placed on a grave, people said that there was nothing to be seen like it, except in the graveyard of the Roman Catholic chapel at Reading.

The behaviour of the congregation was on a par with the appearance of the church and churchyard. At first the new rector used to sit in the desk in his surplice while the bells were ringing, as a means of stopping the talk that went on among the men in the large square pews, and the women who gathered in winter round a stove, which stood in the middle of the church. The font was filled with hats. An old barrel-organ led the singing of a few school-children.

"Perhaps the very worst feature of the time was the churchwardens having half the alms, and giving them in

money gifts to those who came regularly to Holy Communion. Such was the effect, that people generally were repelled from Communion, and those who came were objects of contempt as eleemosynary beggars. It took long to root out this most unhappy state of feeling, though the churchwardens kindly gave up to me their share of the alms. It was extraordinary how long it took also to do away with the prevailing habit of looking out for gifts, arising, I suppose, from the very indiscriminate manner of giving, which had spread itself to all the labouring class."

Letters of this date show with what anxious thought and care Mr. Carter entered on his difficult work. He again wrote for advice to Dr. Pusey, whose answer gives an interesting glimpse into the practical difficulties of the time.

"My dear Carter,

"I have some difficulty in answering your questions, because I have never had a parochial care, and so cannot judge of the temper of people.

"I should think that there should be a difference between those rubrics which relate to yourself, and would affect those only who wish to avail themselves of a provision so made, and those which would affect all who go to church at all. We have, in restoration, not our own duty only to perform, but to regard our people. It may be ground enough for restoring anything that it is required of *us;* but unless people have been first taught to look upon the Church as a parent, this, *alone,* is rather a dry ground for them. . . . There is an obvious objection in their minds, that the Church has not, for above a century, had any power of revising her rubrics, that we do not know whether she would have retained them . . . and there is something in this. We ought not to be in the state in which we are. The very necessity of change, implies defect, and a previous acknowledgment of it. Unless we were wrong before, we should be wrong now, and until people see that we have been so, there is a rightful prejudice against change. Then restoration ought to be the act of the body, so that people should feel that they were obeying not only disused laws, but a living authority. . . . I think harm has been done by trying to introduce changes without teaching people about them before, and trying to raise their mind to them. It does not seem to me right by our people to bring all at once

a practice before them which they have to receive or reject so unprepared. It seems to me risking the putting them in a worse condition, and a want of Christian consideration. . . . We have not only acts and services to restore, but which is far more, habits of mind to recover in our own people. . . .

"My own theory, then, for restoration, would be, I think, to commence at once those things which did not put people decidedly in a worse position if neglected, and require them to choose at once for better or worse. Thus, unless there were local reason to the contrary, I should at once commence daily service at an early hour, because attendance at that office is at all times a question of duty; and being at an unusual hour (I believe an early hour is far the best), it is not like a deliberate refusal. It is meant, as things are, not for all, but for those who can attend.

"The restoration of Communions is far more difficult, unless they also are placed at an early hour, which in itself is far the best, and which in most places is almost an absolute duty in the case of frequent (*i.e.* weekly) Communion. For on the one hand, that feeling which has been handed down to us of 'never turning the back' upon it, is so valuable, that one would be risking serious injury to persons, and much inward strife and distress, by bringing them to the choice unprepared, and might be breaking down a valuable feeling; on the other hand, we might lead them to diminish preparation, and the aim with which they now approach it. For there is among the uneducated a much deeper reverence often, and unwillingness to approach without full preparation, than among the rich. I should be disposed in this to lay down no rule for myself beforehand, but ascertain who were communicants, learn something of them, and then speak with them.

"With regard to the prayer for the Church Militant, I think it would be best to prepare people's minds beforehand by a sermon on intercessory prayer, which might make part of a course of sermons on prayer (including the daily service), for all that has been said about it might make people think it a mere form or badge, and so they would never come to feel the full beauty of it; whereas I think that if they learnt how Apostolic and exactly prescribed by Holy Scripture it is, none of the better sort of people would object to it.

"For ordinary charitable collections, that way of collecting at the door, leaving God's House, as if wrong to do it in His sight, is really so heathen and irreverent, and the other of offering the alms to Him with prayer for their acceptance,

at His Altar, is so beautiful and fitting, just what any mind of simple piety would wish, that I can hardly think there would be any difficulty if the subject were adequately explained, high ground taken, and withal arrangements made as to length in collecting and privacy in giving (by some sort of box or bag).

"But a weekly offertory is a high thing. It also is so clearly Scriptural, and such an obvious act of grateful piety, and such a manifest blessing on the week's labours, that I should hope people might be brought, without any great difficulty, to this also. . . . Intending to carry out the rubrics altogether, you would restore catechising in an evening service, which, if pains is taken, may be much more interesting and instructive than a sermon. . . . I hardly think it expedient to consult the Bishop, when the use is clear, because it makes him responsible, which they had often rather not be. I do not think that it is any compromise not doing everything at once, provided that it is your intention to do so, and that you delay only until you have prepared your people's minds for it. . . .

"Yours affectionately,

"E. B. P."

"Lent, Ember Week. Friday. 1844."

The condition of the Church was early considered, though some time passed before much could be taken in hand; and there is a letter from Mr. J. H. Parker, dated July 13, 1844, advising as to a suitable pavement, and the best design for a font-cover.

"Archdeacon Manning" was consulted as to the best way of creating an interest in missionary work, and he wrote from Lavington in July, 1845, about "a plan (short of the offertory) for parochial collections."

"I can think of nothing better than the scheme you suggest—of two boxes in the church, one for home and one for abroad, with Lectures.

"If I were to suggest anything further, it would be: (1) *Sermons* on Missions, etc., *without collections;* (2) Boxes in private houses, even of the poor; (3) Collector for the S.P.G., and each having a book with a few names. I find this

enlists a strong and active feeling distinct from the principle of *giving.* Obviously, the thing we have all neglected too much is frequent mention of alms corporal and spiritual, and of missions, etc., in our common preaching and catechising.

"Believe me, my dear sir,

"Yours very truly,

"H. E. MANNING."

With this letter was found a copy in Mr. Carter's writing of one written by himself on this subject, which seems to have occupied him a good deal. It is only dated September 26.

"MY DEAR MR. HOBHOUSE,

"Had I the pleasure of a longer conversation with you, I would have mentioned to you that Archdeacon Manning entirely supports the association system. The plan pursued in his archdeaconry is to get persons to give their names as contributors, then have their offerings collected by some voluntary agents, the sums being delivered to the parish priest, and *once* at the end of the year the sum-total is brought and laid on the altar at the time of the offertory. He has found this plan well succeed, and has strongly recommended it. He advises, also, an alms-box in the church as well as in private houses, and particularly speaks on the need of sermons on missions, etc.

"I certainly feel that there is great good in the principle of getting persons to give their names and avowedly join a body united for such a purpose. In America, where the mission system is put on the highest ground, the plan in each separate parish is personally to get persons to give in their names as contributors, and then they bring their offering to church, wrapped in paper, signed with their name, and it is collected by the persons appointed.

"But the principle of associating persons by name as contributors seems fully acted upon, the only difference being that we collect out of church, and they *in.* Much as I prefer the latter method, yet it seems impracticable in our present circumstances in ordinary parishes, and therefore collecting at the houses seems unavoidable. Manning has spoken to me strongly of the good of getting collectors in the parish, both as good for *themselves* as well as for the

Society. . . . *How* to start an association is a different thing. The offering of the yearly sum on the Altar seems a great improvement on the usual way.

"I am truly glad to have had the pleasure of knowing you, and remain,

"Most faithfully yours,
"T. T. CARTER."

A little later we find letters on the position and duties of schoolmasters.

"I perfectly agree with you," writes the Rev. T. Jackson, then head of the Battersea Training College, "that the Elementary Schoolmaster is daily becoming a person of greater importance, and that many, many influential parties are bidding for his support. I, for one, pray that he may be kept sound, a true friend of the Church, a faithful ally of the clergyman. . . . My notion of the Church's elementary teacher is that of an *educated peasant*, living among the peasantry, sympathizing with their wants and pursuits, and endeavouring to lead them in whatever promotes their civilization; above all, their progress in the way to heaven. . . . It is the highest philosophy and the mark of the deepest skill to teach *plain things* in a *plain way*. . . . Societies of a formal kind, instituted for the benefit of schoolmasters, have produced much good. . . . Why should not a series of country parsonages be opened in succession to the twenty nearest schoolmasters, a service be given in church, afterwards essays and a short discussion, some tea and coffee, by no means to be omitted, and making the ἀγάπη complete, a final interchange of Christian sympathizers, and a blessing from the Rural Dean or some senior clergyman?"

Another letter on the same subject, with some account of an association for mutual improvement among the London schoolmasters, comes from the Rev. W. Short.[1]

"I believe," he says, "if the clergy take care to see that Christianity is distinctly taught according to the doctrines of the Church of England, there is no fear of the Government taking education out of the hands of the Church. . . . I trust, having the game in our hands, we may not be so

[1] Brother of the Bishop of St. Asaph.

foolish as to lose the opportunity of giving England a Christian education."

Mr. Carter toiled early and late. He had been accustomed, when at Burnham, to hold evening meetings at cottages in the scattered hamlets, and this use he continued at Clewer, and found useful. He also gave short addresses at the daily Matins, which some of the older people attended. One elderly man was so far touched that he volunteered to ring the bell daily without payment, and continued to do this for several years. House-to-house visiting was undertaken to the utmost of his power; but drunkenness was terribly rife. After a miserable week, in which the Rector had to bury two persons who had died violent deaths through drinking, he began a temperance society. He worked also for the social improvement of the people, took a deep interest in the establishment of a benefit society, and gave part of the glebe for allotments.

In addition to this varied work at home, for two years he acted as an Organizing Secretary for S.P.G., in order to earn money to begin the reparation of the chancel.

For many years he could not afford to engage a curate, but the ever-ready help of Eton did not fail, and two private tutors, first, Jacob Mountain, who worked in Clewer till the call came to give himself to mission work in a lonely outstation in Newfoundland, and then Wellington Furse, subsequently Principal of Cuddesdon, and then Archdeacon of Westminster, came to his aid. But they could only give the time spared from their other work, and Mr. Carter became greatly overdone. He would sometimes arrive at a distant cottage so much exhausted by the walk (he was a rapid walker, and would go surprising distances in a very short time) that he could only sink down into a seat and rest before being able to speak. In those days he hardly ever took a holiday, except the two short visits each year to his father, in summer at Burnham, in the winter at Eton, which were rarely or never omitted, and which he much enjoyed

especially the long summer days in the woods and lanes of Burnham.

Such a strain, aggravated as it was by his attempt at total abstinence, which did not suit his constitution, could not continue with impunity, and in 1853 his health broke down. He was ordered to the sea, and went with Mrs. Carter to Folkestone.

"If the process of imbibing salt air at every pore be the thing to be desired," he wrote, "we have so done, for no two gulls could have been more constant on the cliffs than we have been, and nobody of our own species, I think, has been so much about the coast, except the preventive service officer. You will see us much browned."

Rest and sea-air restored his strength, and about this time his father enabled him to have a regular curate.

In 1853 he was able to begin the long-dreamed-of restoration of the parish church. It was in so bad a state that a proposal was made to build a new church in a more central spot, leaving the old one for a cemetery chapel; but he could not bear the thought of this, and the vestry supported him. He began with the chancel, and the parishioners were so much pleased with the effect that they gave willing assistance in the further and larger work of restoring the nave to a fitting appearance. Some few difficulties were made, but on the whole the work was carried out with great unanimity.

"Mr. —— in high good-humour," Mrs. Carter writes in 1855. "Only conceive his proposing that if father would stand at the north instead of the west of the altar, he would not object to a lectern! Father consents up to a *certain portion* of the service; telling Mr. —— that he must not consider this as a *compromise* to obtain a lectern, but as *consideration* of the *wishes* of his flock! which Mr. —— thinks *so* amiable that he thinks there will be no further objection to a lectern."

Meanwhile Mrs. Carter had taken the choir in hand (not a surpliced choir, then hardly to be seen at that date in a

village church, but a mixed choir of men and women), and worked diligently, assisted as time went on by two ladies of great musical gifts, to improve this portion of the service.

The singularly meagre hymn-book which had been found in use was replaced first by Hullah's arrangement of the Metrical Psalms, and then by a hymn-book specially compiled, and printed privately in 1859, with a dedication to the parishioners of Clewer, "in grateful commemoration of their parish church," and this continued in use till the publication of "Hymns Ancient and Modern" made it needless to keep it in print.

This is, perhaps, the best place to introduce Mr. Carter's own account[1] of his intercourse with Bishop Wilberforce, which counted for much in the work at Clewer.

"His" (the Bishop's) "activity reached everywhere, embracing all details, stirring work where it was slack, and where it was alive keeping his hand upon it, or trying his best to do so. I remember, *e.g.* in early days, privately putting forth a leaflet containing a prayer relating to the Blessed Sacrament. He heard of it. It happened to be beyond his line of belief, and he at once took it up, remonstrating about it. This he did always most kindly, but in a way very difficult to resist. . . .

"With an enormous capacity for work, an overpowering attractiveness of manner, and excessive warmth of affectionateness, he entered into the Church movement in a most practical way, unlike any one else. He popularized the Church revival, and raised the whole idea of Episcopal work, with a most elastic sympathy, extending itself on all sides, to all kinds of views. The Tract writers restored doctrine; he impelled it forward as an active force, at least in its main practical issues.

"There was no man that preached more, not one that made others preach more sermons, as I remember hearing Bishop Thirlwall say at one of the Cuddesdon festivals.

"The Bishop organized the course of Lenten sermons at Oxford, making St. Mary's and St. Giles' the two centres, and collecting preachers of different schools from various places. He initiated missions, not according to the more

[1] MSS. notes.

scientific, and in the most important particulars, the more effective method of later days, but according to his own mind. He chose certain centres, and included the surrounding villages, and arranged for services throughout the district. We communicated together in the morning at the centre; after breakfast, perhaps, met in conference on some practical matters touching ministerial life, and then dispersed to our appointed posts; and in the evening there followed supper and pleasant talk. His method started the idea of missions. It stirred new work in and around the chosen centres. It cherished brotherly love and co-operativeness among men possibly not likely to meet at other times.

"He did not initiate retreats, but he gave them a fresh impulse and a high sanction, making them a regular annual use at Cuddesdon College, and, from his example, drawing together to attend them elderly men, such as Leighton, head of All Souls, and Archdeacon Randall. He was himself always present, when not called off for work, or greatly pressed, one year himself giving the retreat. They were begun after his own idea, socially inclined as he was in all his methods, and so talking in a subdued tone was at first the rule; but this, as men grew to desire it, he soon allowed to be discontinued, and silence became the custom as elsewhere.

"The Bishop furthered ritual, though far from being a Ritualist. Characteristically, he was against outward details of religious use, though he liked and encouraged a certain reverent form; *e.g.* he liked processions of surpliced clergy and choir in due order. . . . The Bishop's peculiar and evident policy was to encourage, while moderating, those who were inclined to advance, and, on the other hand, to raise to a higher level the slower minds of his Evangelical adherents, and so bring together the two parties. And certainly he succeeded by his ubiquitous energy, his social attractiveness, and his many co-operative arrangements, so as to weld the diverse elements together in a very remarkable manner, and impart to them a higher Church tone than, as far as I know, is to be found in any other English diocese, leaving an impression that lived after him, and still lives.

"Visits to Cuddesdon were a part of the Bishop's scheme. They were quite unique, delightful experiences, never to be forgotten. He kept a kind of open house at Christmas, inviting the clergy who worked with him and others, and holding meetings of Inspectors and Rural Deans. There

one met those with whom one was most in harmony, and with whom one was accustomed to co-operate in Church doings, as well as men of mark. Among others whom I remember, one met Sir George Prevost, the Randalls, Pott, Liddon, Butler, Milman (afterwards of Calcutta), Claughton (afterwards of St. Albans), Burgon, Bickersteth (afterwards Dean of Lichfield), Gordon, famous for his school-work; also Leighton of All Souls, and his wife. The order of the day was as follows: First, prayers in chapel, and sometimes a short exposition of Scripture by the Bishop. Then breakfast, with general talk, the Bishop, as always, the leader; then, shortly, an invitation to his study to certain of us, to discuss, perhaps, the subjects for the Lenten sermons, or to settle the preachers, or to make arrangements for a mission, the when, and the where, and the what. This might last till luncheon. Afterwards he would invite some of us to walk with him, himself, with a thick stick in hand, heading the party. Then he might start a subject and ask us to express our thoughts. They were often serious ones. I remember one on the Blessed Sacrament, and his asserting his view; while —— and some of us bore witness to another belief. But he was always patient with differences.

"Returning home, some of us might be called into the study to write letters for him, he dictating to each, then signing, if necessary, and sealing; he always sealed his letters. Then, in due time, dinner, somewhat, though not over, luxurious; and then his very remarkable conversational powers would come out. The ladies being gone, he would sometimes start some subject of the day and have it discussed. Then the drawing-room, and music, and easy talk, himself calling one or another aside, to speak more privately while resting on a sofa by his side.

"This is a long digression, but the circumstances closely affected my own life. I was led to work, helping, in part, to carry out the Bishop's plans, so that it could not well have been omitted. I had my share in the Lenten sermons, the missions, and the retreats, till he left for Winchester.

"I once stayed with Bishop Wilberforce at Lavington. It was the year when Manning left us (1851). When I was with the Bishop, it was known that this was sure to come. Knowing Manning pretty well, I told the Bishop I could not but call at the vicarage to see him. The Bishop wished me not to do so, but I could not have done otherwise. I was with him in his study looking out upon the beautiful wooded

hill above Lavington. I have never forgotten our talk. . . . The main subject was as to inspiration. He had come to believe that, not Apostles only, but a whole line of teachers down to the present time, leading men, at least, such as the Church of Rome had canonized, were equally inspired. It was clear enough what would follow. This idea agrees with what he subsequently wrote, viz. that to quote history is heresy.

"Manning's eloquence was great. We always delighted to hear him.

"While Cuddesdon influences were thus telling, life was growing around one at home among the neighbouring clergy, and mutual intercourse was furthered, especially through the clerical meeting which I joined with others in forming soon after coming to Clewer. We discussed all the burning questions as they arose. It was a very stirring time, for we were striving together to revive old truths; and differences, which afterwards revealed themselves, had not appeared so as to divide us. . . . It was the discussions that were there carried on that led me to write my two books the 'Doctrines of the Priesthood' and the 'Doctrine of Confession,' the latter the stiffest work I ever undertook. I had a very great desire always to make good what I had committed myself to in argument, and so I was led to write fully on the subjects discussed.

"One good deed which deserves to be recorded was done by the Clerical Meeting. It was the time when as yet the Private Chapels Act had not been passed, and there was no opening for dissentients from the teaching of the parish church to form for themselves a more congenial service. The Evangelicals had chosen Exeter Hall for a regular Evensong on Sundays. It raised a great commotion, and at last the incumbent of the parish in which Exeter Hall is situated forbade it, and the law supported his rights. When we talked this over at one of our meetings, we resolved to petition the Deans of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey to commence a Sunday Evensong. The meeting that week happened to be at my house, and I had to write to the two Deans Milman and Stanley (?) Other influences no doubt helped, but the services were soon commenced as we desired."

By this time the work at Clewer (which now included the House of Mercy) had so far grown that the single curate had been supplemented by one, if not two others; and we are

permitted to give some recollections by one (the Rev. H. Tudor) who worked in Clewer from 1858 to 1865.

"An old friend whom I had known at Cuddesdon, and who was senior curate of Clewer, asked me to come and see Mr. Carter with a view to my coming there as one of his curates. I went, and it was decided that I should work there, and though so many years have passed, I can remember my interview with Mr. Carter, and that I felt then, as I have ever since felt, that I was happy in being curate to so holy and earnest a rector. Clewer was then in a transition epoch. Roughly, it might be said that it had four scattered centres of population, and that his parishioners consisted of all sorts and conditions—rich people, who had also houses in London; well-to-do people; two or three farmers; people retired from business or engaged in it; working classes of all kinds, and the poor. I mention these details because I think they may point out that Mr. Carter had a parish which, from its size and arrangement of population, contained elements of special difficulty, increased by the parish church being at the extreme border of the parish. One thing I may mention is, that during the six years I was Mr. Carter's curate, though, no doubt, there were some who did not on all points agree with him, I never heard of any who doubted his goodness or did not recognize how hard he worked. The parish church was full of high pews in 1858;[1] it was restored through Mr. Carter's and the parishioners' exertions, and I well remember how in those days, when church restoration was a novelty, the gentle manner of the rector, his consideration for those people who were doubtful about any change, got over various difficulties.

"Besides services in the parish church, there were services in Dedworth school-chapel, evening service at Clewer Green school in the winter, and a mission room near where St. Stephen's church now stands, and services now and then in another part of the parish. When to these were added services at the House of Mercy, and supervision of the many good works which gradually clustered round it, it must be allowed that the Rector of Clewer, with the many calls on his time as a preacher, a spiritual guide, an author, the writer of many letters, had much to do, and it is pleasant to recall his cheerfulness, his hopefulness, his

[1] This refers to the nave; the chancel was already re-seated.

thought that by God's blessing all would go well. Like many good men, he fortunately had a sense of humour, and after the meeting at the Rectory on Monday mornings, when the services for the week and the following Sunday were apportioned, one of his curates thought it his duty at times to tell, for the edification of the rector, some passing tale or curious event. At these meetings it was often striking to find how well Mr. Carter knew many of the poor, how interested he was in them; and in the homes of the poor the curates often heard remarks which showed the reverence with which the rector was regarded. As the population of Clewer rapidly increased, and the parish had not then been divided, it would have been impossible for any rector to know all his parishioners; but I think they all knew him, and recognized his saintly character. Bishop Wilberforce once said, 'Mr. Carter is often upstairs.' He meant that often his sermons were very spiritual, his thoughts often directed to another world. In the inner minds of many of the poorer parishioners of Clewer there was, I believe, a deep sense of the rector's sympathy with them, and a feeling that his thoughts were often fixed on heavenly things, or, in the homely language of the Bishop, that he was 'often upstairs.'

"At the Ruridecanal Chapters and at the interesting Clerical Society's meetings Mr. Carter was regular in attendance, was listened to with great respect, and though subjects with elements of controversy occasionally were discussed, he set the good example, which was happily followed, of fairness and courtesy, however earnestly differing opinions were sometimes expressed and maintained.

"I have written at longer length than I had intended. I might have dwelt on Canon Carter's kindness and sympathy in times of happiness and in times of sorrow. I might have alluded to his beautiful and spiritual sermons, but others will do this better. I will only add that I consider it a chief honour of my life to have been the curate of so good a man."

The writer of these recollections was himself a great benefactor to Clewer. He and his family built the beautiful little church[1] at Dedworth, an early work of Mr. Bodley, which was consecrated in 1863.

[1] The inscription in it runs: "To the glory of God, and in memory of Mary Sophia, daughter of Andrew and Helen Thynne, and wife of Henry

The Rev. G. D. Nicholas, Vicar of Clewer St. Stephen, has also kindly given his impressions of these early days, and an account of a great event in the history of the parish, the foundation of the daughter church and parish of St. Stephen.

"My earliest recollections of Clewer date from the year 1861. I had been ordained Deacon to Holy Trinity, Windsor, in the Advent, 1860, and I remember the Rev. H. Lanphier, lately come (I believe), as subwarden of the House of Mercy, coming to preach at the soldiers' services at 9 a.m., and my assisting him. In those days I had an almost superstitious veneration for 'Clewer' and all connected with it. I was very proud of being once asked to preach at a special evensong, probably in Lent, when I remember we vested in a temporary vestry near the small chapel door. In those days I used to slip off to the House of Mercy for early Communion and Evensong on a week-day, when not wanted at Holy Trinity. In 1862 I went to Newfoundland, and Mr. Carter still gave me counsel and advice when I asked for it. He sent out to me a copy of his Lectures preached in 1862 at All Saints', Margaret Street, on the 'Passion and Temptation of our Lord,' and so he did the next year those on the 'Life of Sacrifice,' preached in 1864. I returned to England in November, and before Christmas saw Mr. Carter, who offered me a curacy at Clewer, if I could wait three months. In April, 1865, I went as assistant curate for Clewer, and remained so eight years.

"A surpliced choir was gradually supplanting the old choir of male and female voices who sat behind the pulpit. Black stoles only were worn, and, at least in the morning, the black gown was used; this was done in consideration for some of the parishioners. At first white stoles were used, but it was some time before red and green were introduced."

It was apparently in Lent, 1866, that services began in Clewer Fields on Sunday, in the house which is now the Mission House (of Clewer St. Stephen).

The following is in Mr. Carter's handwriting:—

"On July 3rd we laid the foundation stone of St. Stephen's Mission, still to be seen to-day in front of the College. Two ladies, Associates of the Sisterhood of St. John Baptist, by

Tudor, who died 10th of June, 1860, aged 58. This church of All Saints' was built by her husband and children A.D. 1863."

two separate gifts placed at the disposal of the Rector, enabled him to purchase this site, and also within a comparatively small amount of the sum required to build the school and mission house. The site purchased included space sufficient for a church, proposed hereafter to be built in connection with the mission house and schools. Think upon these benefactors, my God, for good, according to all that they have done for this people.

"T. T. CARTER,
"Rector of Clewer.

"June, 1868."

The title of St. Stephen was chosen because, as St. John Baptist (House of Mercy) was the first in dignity among prophets, and St. Andrew (parish church) first called apostle, so St. Stephen was Christ's first martyr.

"In 1868, on October 29, St. Stephen's Mission and temporary chapel, now the Sisters' Oratory, was solemnly blessed by the rector. He celebrated in linen vestments, myself and the Rev. R. J. Ives (now Vicar of Roath) acting as deacon and subdeacon, and the boys of 'Bell Farm' School[1] acting as choir. There were forty communicants. At Evensong the rector preached from Isaiah xliv. 3, 'I will pour water upon him that is thirsty,' etc., and bade none think the ground of their hearts was so dry but that the floods of the Holy Spirit could yet fructify it."

In the following spring, after a few days' illness, Mrs. Carter was called away. She entered into rest on Quinquagesima Sunday, February 7, 1869. This is not the place to speak of her or of the lifelong loss to her family. "Ask for us," Mr. Carter wrote to Mr. Nicholas on the morning of her departure, "that the rector and his three children may bear their very sore bereavement according to the perfect will of God," and please *renew* it in *brief* at offertory prayer, and let it be asked at all services.

"Thank God, all was peace, and we are supported and comforted."

[1] A preparatory school in the parish, kept by ladies, in which the Rector always took warm interest.

For more than a year after this heavy blow, Mr. Carter worked on, but in January, 1871, he got a chill. The effect of long overwork and overstrain made themselves felt, and the result was serious and prolonged illness. He was hanging between life and death for more than a fortnight. His doctor, Dr. Ellison, when asked by one who was ministering to him whether "there was any hope?" replied that he could not say there was no hope in his case (because he knew the vigour of his constitution), but he had never known any one recover from such a condition. Prayers and intercession before the Altar were being offered continually, and they were not in vain. In the midst of extreme bodily prostration, his mind was clear. After receiving, in the presence of relatives who were gathered for the purpose, the Blessed Sacrament (which was thought to be by all his last communion), he sent messages, through the celebrant, of love to friends; and during his illness he never lost consciousness. His sister each morning read the first lesson to him, and it so happened that on one of the mornings the lesson was Genesis xlix., which, containing an account of Jacob bidding adieu to his children, his sister did not like to read, thinking it too touching, and so she began chapter l., when Mr. Carter, raising his head a little from his pillow, said softly, "That's the wrong lesson" —so clear was his memory in the midst of extreme bodily weakness. For weeks his life was in danger, and when this was past, little hope was felt of his return to active work; but by God's blessing, after a rest of nearly two years, much of which time was spent in Italy, he returned home in renewed vigour, to labour yet for thirty years.

The following letters refer to this time:—

"To the Rev. G. D. Nicholas.

"*Monday, March* 13, 1871.

"I hope all is going well, and that none of you is pressed overmuch. It has been a long parting, and I am still but slowly progressing. They tell me I shall find a great change with change of air, and I hope next week to move to Hastings,

where kind friends[1] have provided most hospitably for me. I am afraid it will be some time before I can be of use to any one, but I am truly thankful for so many blessings and prayers for me.

"I long in vain to see St. Stephens,[2] which I suppose is beginning to make your mouth water.

"I fall back on Scott and suchlike for occupation. Will you give my loving remembrances and all good wishes to Ives, Whitlaw, Harrison, Little (the venerable synod[3]).

"Ever in all Christian bonds of love,

"Yours,

"T. C. C."

"To the Same.

"*Tunbridge Wells, July* 29, 1871.

"Thank you very much for your report. It is a great blessing all went so well, and in good time all that remains needful will come. You, too, will be strengthened and guided onward as things open. Generally one sees and knows little of effects, and to walk humbly and deal justly, and live devoutly and do all things reverently and kindly, has its blessings, quicker than one would expect. . . .

"Would this do for the inscription?—'To the glory of God, the most Holy Trinity, and in the faith of Jesus Christ, we lay the foundation stone of this church, dedicated as the Church of St. Stephen, Protomartyr, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost'—with the date and any names you think well. I should like your own, of course, as mission-priest in charge; no need of church-wardens. Bishop should be added; architect and builder, I suppose, also.

"Thank you for what you say. It is a very great comfort to me to feel the confidence in you that I do entirely.

"I must close in a hurry. God bless you.

"Yours ever,

"T. T. C."

[1] Mr. and Mrs. Charles Randell, to whose constant and affectionate friendship Mr. Carter owed much.

[2] The first stone of the chancel of St. Stephen's church had been laid in the previous November.

[3] The name given to the weekly gathering of clergy.

"To the Same.

"*Tunbridge Wells, Aug.* 21, 1871.

"I am more than content about the Choir Fund, and am much obliged to you for settling about the bill. I suppose —— has his use, as forest flies no doubt do good." (Here follow minute directions as to parish charities.) "I think these are all. I am anxious to clear off all matters. My book with account of alms, you will find, I hope, without trouble.

"I am delighted with the photograph of St. Stephen's and yourself in it. How well it looks. And so my long story comes to an end. What a number of details compose life. I hope —— and —— will send in their reports. . . . I am desirous to have all accounts paid in and out before my far-off journey, which is to be on the 30th of this month; it seems an exile, though in a delightsome land.

"All blessing be with you and your work.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"T. T. C."

During the rector's absence, Mr. Nicholas was left in charge of the parish.

"It was," he writes, "an anxious time, for reasons which need not be dwelt upon here, and I well remember how, if I was nominal head, we all looked to the Rev. W. H. Hutchings (who had charge of the Community and Religious Works) for guidance and real leadership.

"In May, 1871, a letter signed by Canons Liddon and C. L. Courtenay, Dr. Monsell, and Revs. R. T. West and G. Cosby White, was written to the *Guardian*, suggesting a 'thank-offering to God for the restoration from dangerous illness of the Warden of Clewer.' It ran thus:—'It having pleased God to hear the prayers of His children (who in many churches throughout England asked in the time of his trial for the restoration of this good servant of the Lord), and life (though, alas! life much shattered) having been given to their prayers, we request all who sought the blessing to return thanks. . . . and we venture to suggest that in each church where such thanksgiving is, the offertory (which is the rendering of our words of feeling into deeds of faith) should be devoted to the completion of St. Stephen's Church

. . . one of the latest of the many good works of the Rector of Clewer; the removal of the remaining debt and all care about it from the mind of one whose Christian offices of love have helped so largely to remove heavier cares from their hearts, is the purpose of this appeal.'"

On July 25 the church of St. Stephen's was opened. The following letters speak for themselves, showing the particularly keen interest which the Rector took in his parish and people during his long absence :—

"To the Rev. G. D. Nicholas.

"*Hotel de Milan, Florence, Nov.* 13, 1871.

"I did not think it at all likely that the college would allow any of the tithe to go. . . . The living is not large, and there are two churches on it, so I felt sure they would have demurred, and the patronage, if such it may be called, still more questionable. But I trust you may not need to take a vow of absolute poverty. I trust the commissioners may add to the £1000, and when once you are a district, at all events grants can be obtained from the Curates' Aid and Diocesan Spiritual Help. . . . We must also try and get a Clergy House, that you may have a nicer home—Cowley. . . . I will, of course, as long as I live, do what I can to make all complete and give help, as I trust you will do what you can, as I know you will desire, for the parish church. I will give what you think fair for hymn-books for St. Stephen's. . . . I am afraid nothing can be done more for Spital till a centre in the shape of a school-chapel is got there. This I have long had in my mind, and trust to carry it out as soon as possible after my return.

"As to the club-room, you mention coals only. I would gladly give coals; but last winter there was also rent of room and candles, and Grinnel's services. I had hoped by this winter that some free room or other means would have arisen to lessen the cost. I should be sorry that it should drop, but it is a good deal, *inter alia*, to keep up alone. I could see no other way this winter, and probably there is no other way now. Is there any one you could think of who would help in this matter? But rather than it should fail I would undertake it, if they have a good report as to conduct. . . .

"I must leave with you to arrange with the Mother about the commencement of the regular services at St. Stephen's. . . . I could indeed wish I had been with you to commune over all this. But all, I feel assured, will be ordered rightly. I greatly trust you will be blessed in your eventful work. You hold a most important position. . . . If there are many adversaries, there are more that are for you than those that are against you. Patient steadfastness with kind considerateness, large-hearted sympathies with lowly-hearted trustfulness, will, with the truth and the Presence of our Lord and the spirit of faith, surely win the day and triumph at last.

"All blessing and strength from above be yours, now and ever. My love and best wishes to the brethren.

"Ever your very affectionate

"T. T. C."

To the Same.

"*Hotel de la Ville, Naples, Dec.* 12, 1871.

"Thank you very truly for all your tidings. A——'s death is indeed very startling. I could not wish her otherwise, for with all her weaknesses she was a truly religious and single-hearted woman, so simple even in her faults that she was ever as ready for a sudden call as one could one's self desire to be. It was a very lonely lot, and much trial, and much that seemed faulty or odd was really peculiarity of health. I am thankful for all you have done for her. She deserved all honour in her last end.

"As to the new organist—if necessary to give £60 to secure a really good man, I would meet it as I have done, and leave you to judge. . . .

"I will do the best I can about the Pastoral. The idea of doing it came over me one day in church at Florence.

"I am exceedingly glad the launch[1] will not be till my return for many reasons; glad, too, there need be no change in the charge of the parish. . . . My love and very best wishes and grateful thanks to the brethren. I find this place agrees with me. It is colder than I looked for, and all say it is exceptionally so, but it is dry, bracing, and generally sunny all day. There is very little in the churches here: all ecclesiastical taste very low; shocking dressed dolls in glass

[1] The formation of St. Stephens' as a separate district.

cases in all the popular churches, with operatic music at the High Mass at the Jesuit's Church, on the 8th, Mass lasting two hours. The Museum very full of interest. It has been too cold to make far expeditions. . . . All truest Christmas blessings to you and to all, for I may not write again probably.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"T. T. C.

"P.S.—I have omitted to say that I wish £1 to be paid, if it has not been, to the ringers, for ringing on St. Andrew's Day."

In 1872 the Rector came home for the summer, and was able to celebrate at St. Stephen's on July 25, the anniversary of the dedication of the chancel. In the autumn he returned to Italy, remaining abroad till July, 1873, when he was able, with restored health, to resume the work from which he had been laid aside for two years and a half.

On his homeward way he wrote to Mr. Nicholas, then about to be instituted to the Cure of St. Stephen's.

"*Boulogne, Friday evening, June*, 1873.

"We have been constantly on the move since I found your last at Munich, or I would have sooner written. My heartiest best wishes and prayers, as you may well be assured, are with you in this eventful crisis of your life, one that I have so long looked forward to, and which is to me the fulfilment of so many anxious searchings of heart. May you have all needful grace and strength and guidance vouchsafed to you. We shall so soon meet that I only send these few lines.

"I have heard *nothing* from ——, but had it been otherwise, I know you too well and too long to doubt or change the uniform confidence that I have ever felt towards you. It has always been a great point of rest to me amid many anxieties. . . . We have just come here and stay quietly, after a long and rather tiring journey, and rest here till Monday morning, and trust for a happy meeting on Tuesday.

"Ever most affectionately,

"T. T. C."

CHAPTER IV.[1]

FOREIGN TRAVEL, ITALY, &c., 1871–73.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

"*St. Goar.*

"WE were amused one day at watching the parish schoolboys at their military exercises, armed with long white rods in lieu of guns, and afterwards at gymnastics, under the pollarded lime trees in front of the hotel, which run along the bank of the Rhine. I found it was part of their schoolwork, half an hour being allowed for it, and it took place twice every week.

"Education in the parish schools was compulsory from six to fourteen. Often children are sent to school at five, but they do not leave before fourteen. Confirmation and First Communion are thus secured before leaving school. Policemen look up the absent children, and parents are fined if their children are absent long without sufficient cause. The Government Inspector visits the school here twice a year. The religious instruction depends on the Priest or Pastor. The population here is mixed, part Catholic, part Protestant; but a very kindly feeling exists between them. I was told two striking facts as to this. It is the custom to decorate the houses throughout the place on Corpus Christi Day; and Protestants decorate if even a single Catholic happens to be living in the house, and often when there are none but Protestants. The same is done when the R.C. Bishop comes to confirm. It is made a great and general *fête* by Protestants equally as by Catholics.

"I was told that the only occasion of collision was the disposal of children in the case of mixed marriages; all

[1] This chapter is extracted from the Journal (headed "Notes by the Way") which Mr. Carter kept during his two years travel, supplemented by a few of his letters.

marriages, as I understood, are made at first as civil contracts. The couples thus united are afterwards (if they will) married religiously according to their faith. . . . The importance given to civil marriage (if the term can be thus applied) must, one should think, deteriorate the view of marriage, and so tell most injuriously on the general standard of religious life."

"*Ulm, September* 8.

"The cathedral, notwithstanding its bareness (it is in the hands of Protestants), is, next to St. Ouen at Rouen, the most devotional building I know, as a fabric, from the extreme beauty of its architectural proportions. As in England it was not the Reformers, but the Puritans, who mutilated our churches, so here it was the later, not the earlier, enthusiasts who did the savage work. The series of statues along the nave were destroyed in the Thirty Years' War. But there still remain several remnants of the past. The high altar is there, and the tabernacle in the side wall, with its magnificent canopy, and a pictorial crucifix on the east wall of the south aisle.

"Beneath this crucifix, as we looked about, there was a poor old woman, evidently a Catholic, kneeling on the bare stones, and at the close of her prayer she doubly crossed herself.

"It seemed an instance of what I have above mentioned, the kindly mutual forbearance that exists here abroad between Catholics and Protestants.

"I would that such a feeling might arise in England. It may be urged that it would only betoken indifference as to any specific faith. I do not think it need necessarily be so. Real earnest people would equally cling to their own distinctive tenets. The best people are always the most lenient and forbearing as to differences, yet they do not therefore feel indifferent as to their own specific doctrines. The only difference would be that the unearnest, unthinking multitude would exchange their narrow bitterness for charity and largeness of heart.

"But there are special hindrances to this kindly feeling in England. The very nearness of the true view of the Church of England to Rome, the divisions among ourselves, the aggressive character of Rome, are specialities, in our case, of difficulty."

"*Coire, September* 11.

"At the entrance of the cathedral there was a temporary arch, wreathed with green and flowers. A similar arch had been placed at the gate close by, leading to the seminary. We found that the cause of the decoration was a young seminary priest having said his first Mass the Sunday before. How striking and touching a proof is this of a deep faith in the Real Presence pervading the people! And surely there is cause. For what more stupendous and beneficent ministry can be given to men? Will such faith ever again take root in England, and be more than it is at present, an exceptional belief, the life of a mere party in the Church, not of the mass of the people? Will it ever be that the first offering of the great Eucharistic Sacrifice will have greater interest attached to it than a first sermon?

"Next to the older churches in Rome, I know none more historically interesting than this cathedral. Coire was a Roman fort, and on the site of the present cathedral stood a heathen temple. On the ruins of this temple was built, in 450, a Christian church, which still remains. It forms an open crypt under the chancel of the present cathedral, and Mass is said in it every Good Friday. Its altar has been transferred to the chancel above.

"Coire was converted by English Saints, by St. Lucius, king, and the memory of what Coire and this country owes to our people is preserved in the splendid triptych over the high altar. It is composed of figures in wood, painted and gilt. On either side of the Virgin and Child, in the main row of figures, are these—

"(1) St. Gall, from Ireland.

"(2) Another Saint from Ireland, whose name I did not catch.

"(3) St. Lucius, King of England.

"(4) The sister of St. Lucius.

"(5) St. Ursula.

"(6) St. Florian (Scotland).

"(7) St. Siegbert (Scotland).

"(8) Placidus of Coire.

"St. Lucius and his sisters are said to have been martyred here A.D. 173. There are many curious and beautiful relics in the sacristy, among the rest a very early tabernacle brought from Ireland."

"*Val di Ticino.*

"There are fine old Lombard bell-towers in this valley. In two of the churches, which seem mostly to be open, I found Vespers being said (by) the people without any priest present, and in one case in the dark almost, and evidently said by heart. Only three or four women were present in either case. But the custom shows the admirable use to which open churches may be put."

"*Bellinzona, Third Sunday in September.*

"To-day is being kept throughout Switzerland as a festival of national thanksgiving for national blessings; illuminations, and guns firing the evening before, and to-day a grand High Mass, military musick interchanged with the church music; the church crowded with troops, and corporation and magistrates present; a sermon by a good-looking, earnest priest on true liberty, 'O Patria, O Liberta, O Religione,' being the burden of it; and he spoke of poor France, and its liberty turned into licence, and of Italy as using liberty to throw off Catholicism. I observed that neither officers, nor corporation, nor troops, paid any mark of devotion at all to the consecration or elevation of the Blessed Sacrament. Probably many of the troops were from Protestant villages, and so no general order could have been given. Benediction immediately followed, and a Te Deum. Service in all about three hours in length."

"To the Rev. W. A. Carter.

"*Lago Maggiore, Stresa, September* 25.

"Thanks for the papers safely come. We have been here just over a week, lodged in a comfortable little set of rooms on the ground floor looking on the lake. You heard of us, L—— tells me, up to Bellinzona. We all enjoyed our jog-trot journey. Specially two quiet days at St. Goar; a lovely afternoon at Heidelberg, where I took the girls a drive up the Neckar—how like Switzerland—and round over the Castle; the sight of Ulm Cathedral, which struck me as only St. Ouen at Rouen did for its devotional effect as a building; the day at Friedrichshafen and Coire; and the whole journey by Ilanz, over the passes,[1] grander far than I had anticipated.

[1] The Oberalp and St. Gotthard.

"Here we found Bishop Harris, Mrs. Monsell, etc. The former left the next morning, the latter three days after. Bishop H. very flourishing, and greatly enjoying his work; *entre nous*, his wandering episcopacy in other people's dioceses I could not do; though, of course, it must be done, and he does it very well. We are to meet him again at Rome, where now his charge extends, since it has become part of the kingdom of Italy.

"We sometimes wander about the hillside, where all the fruits are ripe, and the people busy gathering them in; a wonderful abundance of corn and vines, and figs, and peaches, and apples, the grapes not being gathered yet except for eating. Yesterday we made a lovely boat expedition to the river at the head of the lake beyond Baveno. That part of the lake is all covered with nets, and very large and exceedingly good trout therein are caught, and sent off everywhere, to Paris, etc. . . . I called on Bishop Nixon,[1] who lives close by, as you probably know. . . . He tells me the old nobility of Italy are all for the Pope's temporal status, and the master here (of the hotel) speaks as if they expected France to interfere and set 'humpty-dumpty' up again. We shall probably take a boat to Instra this afternoon, which they tell me is lovely."

"*Stresa, September* 18.

"I went one day to Pallanza, and on a bookstall in the market-place found both a Latin and an Italian Bible, each to be had at the same price, eight francs; the Italian copy in two octavo volumes. At Instra, just beyond Pallanza, there is a small congregation of Protestants. It is the only case of the kind on the lake. The peasantry here are full of enthusiastic praises of the late Mrs. Nixon, for her active, generous, considerate charity. The curé, the chaplain of the Duchess of Genoa, and all the village followed her to the grave. The two priests went to the house to accompany the friends of the family."

"*September* 30.

"I have just been to see this beautiful house Mr. Henfrey is building near Baveno, on a most lovely site, and in the grounds an English church, Lombard style, circular. The wages of ordinary stonemasons are 2½ francs, rising for higher

[1] Formerly Bishop of Tasmania.

workmen to 4½ and 5; that of labourers 1½ francs. The granite pillars in the church cost £8 brought to the spot."

"*Sunday, October* 1.

"It is a great Festa; the second greatest here. The greatest is that of S. Ambrogio, the patron saint. This is of Santa Maria del Rosario. A large image of the Virgin and Child carried in procession through the streets, with crucifixes, lights, and a great concourse of people from all the neighbourhood. It was altogether wretched, shocking, and undevotional. I saw a very few only of the old women who formed the procession saying prayers, and very few with rosaries, though it is called especially the Festa del Rosario. A few women knelt before the image as it returned into the church. Immediately outside the church were stalls with gingerbread, etc. There were monkeys, etc., playing. The town band formed part of the procession, and immediately after Benediction, which followed the return of the procession, the band played dances, and the people began a polka, a hundred or more dancing together, just in front of the church.

"Certainly the exhibition amuses the people, but I could see no sign of its stimulating devotion, as must have been the case in former days. I suppose the fact is, that a Festa is not to be considered as a religious act at all, but as a public entertainment, a popular festive representation to gratify a national love of scenic exhibitions. But to use such sacred symbols for such an end is surely a serious abuse of the serious side of things; nor is it possible to separate off the idea of some virtue being attributed to the image, or at least to the honour paid to it. At all events, when conducted as it was to-day, it is but a miserable travesty of what must have been in its best days a very questionable kind of devotion.

"Italy is rising in material activity. There are now four war-steamers being built, two at Venice, one at Spezzia, one, I think, at Genoa, and of these every portion is of Italian make. This is the first time such an effort has been made. Lately, when a railway was projected in North Italy, the contractors planned to get the carriages made in France. The workmen of Milan rose and complained, the Government interfered, and compelled the company to have all made at home."

"*Menaggio.*

"I found here the Holy Bible in Italian, French, and English in the reading-room, and that they had been left by an Englishman. The landlady, an intelligent woman, rather apologized for their being there, and said that a good Catholic ought not to read it; that her priest would refuse her absolution if she was known to read it, and told me the story of Adam and Eve and the forbidden fruit as a warning against seeking to read Holy Scripture, and was surprised to be told that this story was in the Bible."

"*Milan, Sunday, October* 8.

"The specialties of the Gregorian (? Ambrosian) Rite at Mass are: (1) That the deacon and subdeacon kneel during the prayers, one at the north, the other at the south *end.* Is it possible that this is derived from the Cherubim in the Holy of Holies overshadowing the Mercy-seat from either end? A mark of Eastern connection is the seven lighted lamps suspended before the Altar. (2) The reading of the Epistle and Gospel from the north ambo outside the chancel, evidently the primitive use. (3) The presentation of the wafers at the Offertory by two men and two women, the former coming up to the altar rail, the latter to the foot of the chancel step, the celebrant coming down to receive them from each. Evidently this is a remnant of the early custom of the presentation of oblations by the people."

"*October* 3.

"The anniversary of the Plebiscite of Rome claiming its place in the kingdom of Italy. It was signalized by gathering together all the children of the Communal schools, 6000 in number, or thereabouts, the firstfruits of the changed state of things. They were assembled at the Palatine, I think."

"*Bologna, October* 8.

"Church of St. Dominic. The great saint lies buried here in an altar tomb. Above the altar a most beautifully sculptured work of Nicholas of Pisa, most rich in figures, most chaste statues and high reliefs, Carrara marble. The two subjects in front are his raising a dead person, and his burning the Albigenses. Two of the statues are by Michael Angelo. . . . The University very splendid and deeply interesting. On all the walls shields of arms of different persons

of all nations who have studied there. The chief rooms now form a magnificent library. . . . Three end rooms are filled with ancient Etruscan memorials from the necropolis of the city that stood 3000 years ago, before Rome was built, close by what is now the Campo Santo, about three miles from the town. . . . All the bodies were laid as ours are, from east to west, the feet towards the east, except a very few which lay at an oblique angle, apparently an exception to the rule, owing to obstacles in the way. . . . Among the tombstones was one on which an angel was represented grasping the hand of a man, apparently the deceased, as if welcoming him into another world; a remarkable testimony to the Pagan instinct of immortality."

"To the Rev. W. A. Carter.

"*Hotel de Milan, Florence, November* 3.

"My dear Brother,

"I want your good services. You will remember my plan about St. Stephen's. We have now the means of carrying out the plan of the district. The Bishop accepts the sum we have of £1000 as the commencement of an endowment, on conditions of our guaranteeing the necessary addition, which of course we gladly do, and we may get something from the commissioners, only it is necessary that the papers required should be sent in by the 20th of *this* month. I have written fully to the Provost with formal application, and I trust a college meeting may be in time. Will you kindly expedite it so that we may not lose the opportunity? it will be an immense gain to the rectory.

"We have had some cold weather, a second Tramontana of three or four days, but it is mild again, and almost every day it has been blue sky and bright warm sun; we have only wanted a fire one day, when it was raining. . . . Philpotts,[1] who sat next to me in school, is here with wife and children, and I passed last evening in his room in a neighbouring hotel. . . . There is a good deal of active work going on, the cathedral being restored by the Government, and two of the churches by the Municipality. The people willingly bear the tax for such works, and I am told the Government mean to complete the façade of the cathedral, which has hitherto been shapeless, rude brick. There is a

[1] The late Rev. Thomas Philpotts, of Porthgwidden, Cornwall.

general look of activity, and the higher classes feel the many new sources of employment opened to them by the change. All works of art are more carefully kept. We generally pass our morning at one of the galleries, and wander about in the afternoon. I still need my two supports in general, but can get on faster and farther, and carriages are not dear, eighty cents a course. . . . What a mess S. W. and York have made, notwithstanding all that Monsell has said."

Notes.

"*Florence.*

"Mr. Sloane has just died, and is buried in the Campo Santo of the Misericordia. He was the initiator of the magnificent façade of Santa Croce. Towards it, I am told, he contributed £30,000, and had planned to add a pair of brass gates when he died. He was an English Roman Catholic, educated near 'Kensham,' came out here to be tutor to the son of one of the nobles, and by successful speculations in mines, etc., became wealthy; became a friend of the Grand Duke. He would have been buried in Santa Croce, but his wife could not have been buried there with him."

"*November* 9.

"Saw to-day the great poor-house behind Santa Croce. It contains about seven hundred—men, women, and children. It was begun by Napoleon I., by the suppression of the Carmelite convent, since carried on by public and private benefactions and bequests. A new wing is about to be added, for which plans are ready. It is under the direction of Signor —— as sole manager. He had become noted for his excellent management of the prisons, and the king, as I understood, appointed him to this post as a lighter task after his former laborious work. It is most admirably managed. Over the door is an inscription stating the object to be to receive poor and sick who scorned the shame of begging. Male and female parts of the house are completely separated, so much so that in church the women sit in closely latticed galleries, while the men and boys are below. All are free to come and go, but only respectable characters are admitted. There are old and sick, and there are boys and girls from three years old, children of poor or

ill-conducted parents. The destitute may be received free, and may enter for a time, as, *e.g.* for winter, or for life. Those who are sent by the Municipality are paid for by them at the rate of one franc a day, which covers clothing and all expenses. Private persons may place any one there on the same terms. Children are kept till eighteen years of age, and are regularly taught trades. They chiefly work in the daytime, and are taught in the evening. Everything used in the establishment, even bedding and clothing, is made in it; only linen, cloth, and leather are purchased. On the girls' side we saw some sewing and making garments, others at looms making the stuff for the gowns, others with spindles making the thread. The old sick women were knitting. On the male side there was the room for shoemaking, other rooms for carpentering (excellent furniture is made there), other rooms for printing (they print a good deal for Government), other rooms for ironwork.

"For teaching, there are separate rooms, one for reading, one for writing, one for musick, one for design, drawing, etc. There was also an admirable and extensive covered court for gymnastics. We saw lads, active, cheerful, intelligent, and well-grown, at various exercises. There are foils and masks and military implements for exercise. We saw some sets at dinner. The lads came in in military order to the sound of the drum, then all knelt down, and were very reverent while saying grace. They had semolina broth, looking very thick and good, and meat, bread, and wine. They have meat daily, sometimes twice, a good small loaf three times a day. Everything in kitchen, dining-rooms, and bedrooms looked beautifully clean. The beds were iron, the bedding a mattress of Indian corn leaf, a bed on this, a sheet, blanket, and coverlet, each soft and warm. . . . Besides the church is an oratory upstairs out of the infirmary, with windows opening into it, for the sick. Mass is said in the church every Sunday and festival. The house and premises form a parish.

"As far as I can learn, there is a manifest tendency towards Protestantism. But the chief result that I hear of are many of the poorer having become Plymouth Brethren, and the Waldenses spreading. The latter have a considerable school here. Some persons of mark have joined the Protestants just lately."

"To the Rev. W. A. Carter.

"*Hotel de la Ville, Naples, Christmas Eve.*

"This will reach you, I trust, before Christmas week is run out, and so I trust my heartiest wishes for all truest Christmas blessings and those of another year, may reach you and yours. How strange it seems to think of your many Christmas works, in our quiet idlesse here by the far-off sea! We have butchers' broom with beautiful red berries, and the pepper tree, like an evergreen acacia, instead of holly, and presents of immense oranges from the hotel-keeper, instead of mincepies. We have quite warm weather, and one lovely day had a delicious drive to Baiæ. I think of making a few days at Salerno and Amalfi; but this will continue our headquarters throughout next month.

"I can picture your church looking very nice. M—— and G—— are helping to decorate the church here; it is rather pretty, and a real church, built on ground given by Garibaldi in 1860, during his reign here. Thank you for the *Guardian* just arrived. I have not had the copy in which the Bishop of London's charge would, I suppose, have appeared. I am rather anxious to see it. . . .

"The 'Parish Mass' in the churches at which the parishioners communicate is at 5 a.m. in the summer and 7 a.m. in the winter (there are in many churches Masses as late as 12 or 12.30). Immediately after the parish Mass the catechising takes place in the sacristy, or in the priest's house. There is a temporal inducement to attend the catechisings, for many benefactions, such as marriage portions for the girls, are put into the hands of the priests, who give them to those who are regular in their attendance. There is not much preaching here, not generally on Sundays, only on great occasions and special holidays.

"Government schools are free. Little or no religion is taught in them. Private schools for boys are from 3 to 6 francs a month. The son of the hotel-keeper, three years of age, pays 3 francs. Boys pay more than girls. . . .

"Went into a small church above the Hotel de Ville about 3.30. Catechising was going on; about ninety were sitting in different seats, all women; some quite old, some with their babies, some only girls. Seven priests (at least seven ecclesiastics) were engaged in teaching. Robert Proctor,[1] who

[1] His cousin.

lives in a villa above Portici, tells me of the rate of wages, as follows:—a day labourer, one day, 1·20 francs; to his coachman, 2 francs a day, and the man keeps himself; his man cook, £2 a month, and the man keeps himself; for his villa, with a good garden, £40 and no taxes; for his horse, £40 a year, including food.

"His garden is full of oranges and lemons. . . .

"I visited the old Campo Santo. This a large square court, paved with broad square flags and surrounded by a high wall, one side of which has a cloister, and is entered by high gates. The Stations (of the Cross) are painted on the walls. In the stone floor are distributed, at equal distances, openings into the pits below, three hundred and sixty-five in all, one of which is opened every day. Four o'clock is the time fixed for the daily burials, which are thus together. Immediately after the burials the pit is closed. The bodies are slipped down out of a long trough, just wide enough to hold them. I saw one being made ready. The bodies are clothed up to the neck, but no coffin is used of any kind. A priest officiates so far as this. No service or prayer is said, but the priest sprinkles holy water over the body, and gives a blessing. Whether the bodies of the poor are first taken to a church, I do not know. There is no chapel at the Campo Santo that I saw. There were a good many poor women in the Campo, apparently gathered for the approaching burial. Several were going round the Stations, kneeling on the stones before the pictures (it was Friday), no priest with them. A few were standing saying prayers at the stone which had been closed the day before, over that day's pit, of which the cement was fresh.

"It was a most melancholy scene, and the man who described how the burials took place spoke of all as a simple matter of course.

"I saw the wife of the agent of the Anglo-Continental Society. The depôt of books is closed, and the books stowed away, waiting for further orders. She gave a very discouraging account, scarcely any sale of books, though she thought this had been the most flourishing depôt. The resident manager is one of the excommunicated priests. She told me that in 1860 as many as one thousand priests in and about Naples had joined the movement, and the king had given seven churches for their use. There was then no Archbishop. When the King and the Pope arranged for the appointment of an Archbishop, these churches necessarily fell under his

jurisdiction, and consequently the excommunicated priests could no longer officiate in them. Gradually the greater number of them submitted, but three hundred held firm to their position, and she did not know what had become of them. She thought they had dispersed and gone to their homes. Each of them has an allowance of £16 a year from the Government. The priest of this depôt has laid aside his habit, and attends the English Church, at least the prayers in the morning, leaving before the sermon, and never remains for the Holy Communion service, and, so far as she knew, communicates nowhere."

"*January* 13.

"Saw to-day the first shoots in leaf, on the endmost branches of a vine against a wall. The peas are in full blossom, some in pods in the gardens. In some very sheltered places they are ready for eating. We have had them twice for dinner. The early shoots of the orange trees are of some length. The thermometer stands to-day, in my room, on the side furthest from the south window, at 55, without a fire. The lowest point it has been at is 54, any time from 7 a.m.

"Robert Proctor's coachman, driving me from Portici, observed upon the statue of St. Januarius on the bridge at the borders of the city, placed there for the saint to ward off the lava and ashes of the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius. He observed how the saint protected Naples. I asked him who protected Portici. He said, 'St. Giro.' And who protects Resina, (the next town). 'Oh, Una Madonna.'

"Above Portici, on the higher ground at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, is a statue of St. Januarius, marking the spot where the lava once stopped in its course, with an inscription stating how it had been stayed by the intercession of the saint."

"To the Rev. W. A. Carter.

"*Piccola Sentinella*,[1] *Casamicciola, Ischia*,
"*January*, 30, 1872.

"My dear Brother,

"We came here last Friday week, intending to return to Naples last Thursday, but we are *detenus*. The

[1] This beautiful place was destroyed by an earthquake a few years later.

daily steamer leaves at 6 a.m., rather an undertaking, and the one boat that goes at a reasonable hour only comes on Thursday, calling on its way from P. to Naples. I should have gone in a four-oar to Cape Misenum, about two hours off, where a carriage might meet us from Naples, but the weather has been unsettled, so we are hoping to go on Thursday next. We had last week three days and nights of almost uninterrupted rain, but some lovely days, and the thermometer from 58 to 60 generally. It is no unpleasant imprisonment. The island itself very lovely, exceedingly varied, and a lofty volcanic mountain, nearly three thousand feet high, rising above us, all the sides and crannies covered with terraced vineyards, interspersed with orange and lemon orchards and occasional olive trees, and houses on most picturesque eminences, all with flat roofs to dry the figs on, and arcades here and there along the fronts, painted various colours. The churches are domed, the general effect wonderfully like the East. The view from the colonnade in front of our bedroom windows, here in a very 'homey' kind of hotel, is most beautiful, commanding the whole line of coast of Cumæ and Baiæ to Cape Misenum, stretching back northwards to the Abruzzi range, the highest of which are covered with soft cloud-like snow; and then southward the Island of Procida, with its lofty castellated tower; and behind, all the high ground above Naples and Vesuvius. The quiet 'homyness' of the place is delightful. All that seems wanting to make it perfect is the spring vegetation, and summer sky and bluer sea of a few months hence. Our company is very agreeable, but a strange mixture, which is one of the odd interests of our wandering life. A ritualist clergyman, with his wife and two other ladies, partly to visit whom I came here (for he had, though personally unknown to me, offered me, when I was ill, to make his house at Bournemouth my home); an elderly Indian merchant (now a Suffolk squire) and his wife, who delights to find us able to play a rubber in the evening; an English artist and wife, come for the baths to cure his neuralgia; a Danish artist, M. Lundgren, who belongs to our Water Colour Society, very clever and interesting; a middle-aged German spinster, an associate of some Protestant Sisterhood; and an Irish dissenting family, who distribute tracts both in and out of the house. To the elderly wife of the Indian, a good old body, who reads her chapters every morning, his wife gave 'The Ritualist's Deathbed,' to the German spinster associate, 'Out of the

Pit.' Last Sunday they went forth and distributed tracts broadcast over the whole village. The priests were greatly excited. There was a burning of a good many, we were told, at the house of the Parrocco, and J—— saw the people tearing them to shreds in the piazza, making quite a snow shower.

"I have been interested to learn about the schools which have sprung up under the new Government. The people were at first indifferent to it, but gradually the desire has grown. The boys' school is a very animated scene, the master a superior teacher, trained at a normal school at Pozzuoli. Out of a population of three thousand, of which the scattered town of Casamicciola consists, there are one hundred and fifty boys at school, and about a hundred girls. The normal school for mistresses is at Naples. Every province throughout Italy has its normal school. Twice a year the Government inspectors come round. They have a book with extracts from the Bible, and a lesson-book and catechism authorized by the Church; it rests with the master to teach as much of the catechism as he likes; the priests never enter the schools, and are opposed to the movement. The chief master here is Liberal and anti-Papal, as probably most of them are; but the master of the former set of boys is a *Papale*, and so is the mistress.

"Apparently the Government appointments are accommodated to circumstances, and they are careful not to offend the Church; the issue must be the rising up of a (spirit) in the lower classes, as already in the higher, against the whole Papal system—with what results time only can show. There is an old Catholic weekly journal (in Italian) published in Naples, which I see sometimes, well written, sensible, and temperate. Another is published in Bologna, said to be better. These are the only public signs I believe of this movement. . . .

"The Government seems to be very considerate in training the people. Yesterday, when we took our donkey-ride to Forio, one of the towns on the other side of the island, we saw a notice of the Census, in which it was explained that a Census was not a new thing, but had taken place in the Roman Empire under Julius Cæsar, and afterwards when our Lord was born, and adding that it had nothing to do with taxation. . . . Probably we shall not go to Rome till after the Carnival. I hardly care enough about it to make an effort for it. I suppose you have read Lightfoot on

the New Revision. You would delight in it; it is very good."

"To his Sister, Mrs. Balston.

"32, *Capo le Case, Rome,*
"*Tuesday in Holy Week* (1872).

". . . It is very strange to feel Christmas and Easter passing in a foreign land, and not easy to realize them in the circumstances under which they come. The sight-seeing in the midst of this season is very incongruous, and yet there is nothing else to do, and attending the R.C. services is partly only another kind of sight-seeing. Happily we have a very nice church here, and the services are really all we could desire—hearty, and fully attended, and very nice music, and all reverent. The Chaplain is very earnest and active; daily celebrations this week, morning and evening services always, three celebrations on Easter Day.

"Our weather here all through March has been trying; constant rain and scirocco wind, soft and warm and sometimes rather depressing. We have, of course, had occasional delightful days. . . . We hope to be at the Tenebræ services to-morrow at St. Peter's, and the Thursday Mass there, which I believe is a very striking service, and at part of the 'Three Hours' on Good Friday (at the Gesù). There have been beautiful evening services on Friday, with singing, through Lent, and only on Fridays, except Sundays. Yesterday, as a counterpoise to these Papistical ways, we went to hear Père Hyacinthe lecture. He is giving a series of lectures on Catholic Reform. The room was crowded, but very few Romans there, as far as we could see. . . . Could follow him well, and were delighted with his eloquence. However, it is only a 'pleasant song,' as far as Rome is concerned, though after generations may be different. There seems no manner of likelihood of reform here, as far as can be seen.

"Our lodging arrangements go on very steadily, our cook a great success, and occasionally we have something like English joints, and it is certainly more economical than hotels, and the quiet of it pleases after the babble of *table d'hôtes.* I get about better, and have laid aside my second stick, and thankful to say I have escaped cold. . . .

"Mrs. C. has just been with Père Hyacinthe, and while his

words are fresh in her mind, she came to tell me what he said, viz. that he believed Rome to be the centre of unity, and that the Episcopate was formed and organized at Rome as its centre, and that *our* best hope of reunion was with the Greeks rather than with Rome, and any hope of reunion with Rome was only in the distant future. Her impression was, that what Hyacinthe looked for is the reunion of the old Catholics with the Roman body by a change of feeling and opinion in the latter. . . .

"I talked with William Palmer. He acknowledged that the East was right as to the *Filioque;* that what determined him against the Greek Church was its subjection to the State and its anathemas against opponents; that no one can by his reasoning decide on the question of the Church which he should join, but can only take some leading idea and follow it out—in his case the principle followed was that of a visible church; that men's predispositions and circumstances determine their judgment, and that they are guided mainly by their egoisms.

"At the French Church on Palm Sunday, being the eve of the Feast of the Annunciation, the preacher stated 'that our Lord was the principle of grace, but Mary the channel; that God had made Mary the depositary of grace, the Holy Spirit bestowing all graces upon her for this end, and that she was the dispenser of grace as she pleased *comme elle veut.*'"

"*Good Friday.*

"At the Tre Ore at the Gesù to-day the preacher of the meditations on the Third Saying said, 'I see two altars, one the Cross, the Altar of Blood, the other the Heart of Mary, the Altar of Love'; and he went on to parallel the two, saying 'that our Lord gave up His life, Mary her soul.'"

Mr. Carter came home for some months in the summer, and returned to Italy in the following autumn.

"To his Brother.

"*Via delle Carrozze, Rome, December* 17, 1872.

"We have been here just over a fortnight. I found comfortable lodgings close to the Corso, in a narrow street running out of the Piazza di Spagna. . . . Canon Gregory[1] is here,

[1] The present Dean of St. Paul's.

and I have been about with him some days; also Dr. Coates, a Torquay acquaintance, with whom I have walks. I have been making expeditions with Parker (of Oxford), who is the great authority among the visitors here on archæology. I have been to three of his lectures, after which he takes parties to see the things he has been lecturing about, and really very interesting it is. One picks up a good deal, though perhaps some stuff with it. The Forum is being gradually cleared out, and a great quantity of old work in fragments has been found. Immense building plans are going forward. Three large building companies have been formed, and a vast extent of the high ground above S. Maria Maggiore is being covered with large houses and broad streets. . . . We are going to see the Pope shortly. Our weather has been delightful for a few days, like late October, bright and fresh. One lovely evening, the moon very bright, we went to the Coliseum, and walked about it and the Forum; most enjoyable. We have had no need of fires except the last two or three evenings.

"We came from Florence by Siena and Orvieto; about four hours of the journey between Orvieto and Rome is by diligence. Some very fine country we have passed through, crossing the Apennines. Both the towns are most interesting, and finely situated. Siena, besides its cathedral, is most picturesque, fine palaces, quaint streets, and ox-carts going about them such as the old Romans would have used. . . . I think of staying here till the middle of February, and then going to Capri and Ischia for a few weeks, quiet country and economical. . . .

"I have the *Times* lent me occasionally, and have just been reading of Stanley's victory. It must have been a mistake and done harm, though Goulburn's letters are touching and weighty. Pusey, Liddon, etc., have well kept out of it. I had made up my mind that nothing else could have been done with the Athanasian Creed; every other proposal is full of objection, but what will be the effect on the laity? . . . A very happy Christmas and New Year to you all."

"*Rome, December* 4, 1872.

"*A Talk with Bishop Howard on the Infallibility Question.*

"His line of argument was that the Council of Chalcedon was not valid till the Pope had approved it; that it was the

same with all Councils; that it was a general belief of theologians that even a majority of a Council was no avail against a minority if the Pope sided with the minority.

"(He spoke of the Council of Rimini, had affirmed this, but on my pressing him on this, withdrew it, and said it was a generally accepted belief), that if a Pope had condemned a doctrine as heretical, there was no appeal, according to general belief; that therefore the principle of infallibility resided in the Pope, though hitherto exercised in union with the Church or Episcopate; that the possible difficulty of convening a Council in consequence of opposition of States might be a reason for affirming the truth now; but that it was always held as a truth; that undoubtedly the promise was given to the Church to be guarded from error, and kept in the truth; that it was as easy, indeed easier, to Almighty God to keep one man, than to keep a hundred; that the infallibility gift was a thing to be exercised constantly and in the intervals of Councils, and therefore could not depend on Councils.

"He said that the late Council had been promulgated sufficiently according to technical rules, that its decrees had been proclaimed publickly here at Rome, as well as individually by bishops in their sees.

"He explained the infallibility gift as an overruling guidance, *not* an inspiration, because this implies a means of imparting new truth; that infallibility was only a guarding against error, and directing judgment in the use of means equivalent to the promise to preserve the Church in existence; that the Pope would be speaking infallibly whenever he pronounced a judgment in such a way as to make it clear that it was binding on the Church and on consciences; that it would be assured that he had used all means to improve his judgment and weigh the questions and the opinions and decrees of the past; that it was a matter of faith that God would take care that he should not speak unguardedly, or falsely, or ignorantly; that it concerned the Pope as a matter of conscience how far he had used proper means of informing himself; but that whether he had done so or not, God would take care that only truth was declared by him; that he would be hindered from any erroneous utterance; that infallibility was in fact unerring; that thus any one might rest assured and trustful that God would be true to His own promise, and would assure to His Church the truth only as ascertainable in this way.

"He considered that infallibility as to morals was as necessary as to the matters of faith, because of the connexion between faith and morals; and that false views as to morals might prevail as well as to faith, as if false definitions as to murder might be declared.

"The following is told by Mr. ——, who had the story from a cousin of the lady in question.

"It runs as follows:—

"'The Pope, when a layman in the Guardia Nobile, fell in love with a Miss ——, daughter of Sir —— Fitzgerald of Ireland, was engaged, and the day fixed for the marriage in a church in Rome; he parted from his *fiancée* the day before the intended marriage to go to make his confession. He confessed to a Jesuit, to whom he told his engagement. The confessor said, "It must not be; that the Lord had other designs for him." On remonstrance being offered as to how to save his honour, and that of his family, the confessor said he would arrange that; that it must be left wholly to him. That evening Count Ferretti was sent off to Civita Vecchia, and there put on board a ship, and sent to Rio Janeiro; there he was ordained, and worked hard among the sick during a time of cholera. Nothing had been said by the confessor to the family to apprise them of what had been done; and the next day the bridal party, the bride, the bridegroom's best man, all assembled at the church, and finding no bridegroom, returned. Miss Fitzgerald never saw her intended husband again till one day she was in Rome; it was the election of a new Pope. She was in the square of St. Peter's; she saw the bricked-up window broken through, and heard the Dean of the Sacred College declare that Ferretti was Pope (*tu es Petrus*), by the name of Pius IX., and saw her intended husband enthroned behind the peacock feathers.'

"Talking with Monsignor Stonor, he spoke of the question of union having been considered, but determined to be impossible, except by absolute submission; of the position of the Papacy and Roman Church against the revolutionary spirit of the age, as finally fixed, waiting for a reaction which was to be expected; and of his amazement at the progress of Church restoration in England, of his great preference for our style of architecture, etc."

"*A.D.* 1873.

"Conversion of St. Paul. Dined at Mr. Marsh's, the American minister; Bishop Strossmayer and his secretary,

Mamiami, Vice-President of the Senate, and Borghi, were present; also Dr. Pantaleoni, Mr. Langden, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Meira, and Hemans. Dr. Pantaleoni spoke of the mixing of different nations tending to union of ideas on religion, which he thought manifestly increasing; of the hope for Italy and the Church of Rome being in bringing the clergy more under the influence of the State, and restoring the old system of electing the bishops, and so getting the present state of absolutism in the Papacy modified; and of infidelity being the great hindrance to progress towards reform; and that of 500 Members of Parliament, not above 60 could be counted as believers; of the difference of mind in our races and the Latin, we, starting from the sense of individual responsibility, the Latin races, from allegiance to a central body, in our case working from individuals to a centre, in the other cases working outward from a central authority to individuals; of the error of the Church of Rome in thinking a reaction would ever come, or its present position of antagonism ever being made good. He said, on my referring to the Bible as the guide or ground of stability, that if Italians could ever be got to read the Gospels, it was as much as could ever be expected; they would never read the Old Testament. . . .

"Mr. Langden spoke of the different phases of belief, of the sections of the Church being complementary to each other, and of the strong line of division between the clergy and laity in Italy; the clergy never giving credit to the laity of being in earnest or believing; the laity never giving the clergy any credit of having any liberal ideas or desire of improvement of the state of the Church.

"The papal view is that the king has been forced on by revolutionary violence to enter Rome and remain against his will.

"They fully expect a reaction, and wait for it, possessed with the conviction that absolutism is the sole remedy against rationalism and politicalism.

"Mr. H—— told me that in the late census, out of the 26,000,000 of Italians, 19,000,000 could neither read nor write. He said he was at the promulgation of the dogma of infallibility; that at the very time the thunder pealed, and the lightning struck one of the cupolas of St. Peter's, and that it became quite dark; that the Pope seemed struck by it, but recovered himself; that the account appeared in one paper, speaking of the event as the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai in thunder and lightning; that it was suppressed and

did not appear in others . . .; that he travelled to Florence the next day, and some one with him said the Pope would lose his temporal power before the year ended . . . and it so happened; immediately after the promulgation of the dogma, France declared war against Austria."

"*Talk with Monsignor Nardi.*

"He considered that union was impossible, that the dogma of infallibility had been in his opinion inexpedient to enter upon; but once started, necessary to be affirmed that the devout laity would side with the bishops; that the more the State resisted the Church, the more the bishops would throw themselves back on the Papacy; but that a great struggle would come, and it would be a terrible time for the Church.

"He considered that we held only two Sacraments, and on its being urged that there was a difference, separating the two from the five others, he did not admit it. Said also that the Fathers were no rule, that they varied too much."

"*Talk with Father Douglas.*

"He considered that the dogma made no difference in the faith of the Church, only brought it out that the practical difference was that, now Gallicanism was impossible, it would be *ipso facto* heresy. He considered that the Pope could decide of himself alone with, or without, counsel or advice of any one; that if a Council were called, and the majority went one way, he could rule it a contrary way; but that the head was not to be viewed without the body; that it was not therefore to be expected, or morally possible, that he should thus act, but that all subjects are according to individual rule weighed first by congregations appointed for the special purpose, and come before the Pope only after all possible sifting, often heard and reheard, before his final decision.

"He explained that the difference between a Beatification and a Canonization was in this: that a *Beato* was revered and invoked by a particular order or Church; a *Santo* by the whole Church.

"*Munich, June* 13, 1873.

"Had an hour's converse with Döllinger.

"He said that their object was to act upon the upper classes; that more would be done to spread their views, but

for the fewness of the priests who had joined them, two only in Munich, fifty in all Germany; that he did not expect a change of Popes to make any difference in the line of Roman doctrine, but that a new pope would probably come to some terms with the Italian Government, and that this would modify the state of things; that Strossmayer had not submitted, only had given his priests permission to publish the decree if they desired, but without implying his sanction or approval, and that he had not published it himself, and it only circulated in his diocese as a matter of Church news; that he paid his visit to the Pope only on condition that the dogma was not mentioned, and that the Pope accepted him thus, though the Jesuits had stated that it (was) otherwise, but that this statement of theirs had been withdrawn. On my asking about the election of Reinkens to be Bishop, he said that, having been once excommunicated, Rome could do nothing more; that his Episcopal acts would be valid, his ordinations, etc., so much so, that a priest ordained by him would be accepted by Rome without farther ordination if he seceded to Rome; and I understood him to say that his acts would be like the acts of our bishops. He added that, after examining the question of our orders, he was satisfied of their validity, and accepted all our Sacraments, etc.; he implied throughout, as we should, that the validity of ordination depended not on any link with the Roman See, but on the Canonical Rules (etc.) being observed.

"On my asking as to the prospect of reunion with the Alt Catholicks, he said, not while we were in union with the State, in consequence of the false doctrines and defects in the uncatholic part of our body (this he did not say, but acceded on my saying that I remembered his having expressed such an opinion as to our being committed to such errors and defects while in union with them), but that whenever we were separated from the State, which he thought eventually must happen, then the Low Church section would form into a distinct body, and the Catholic part of us into another body, and then the latter could unite with the Alt Catholic. He spoke strongly of the State alone now keeping us together; at the same time he said we ought to hold on to the State as long as we could, that it would be unwise to hasten the separation, unwise to surrender a certain benefit which it gave us for an uncertain one. Observing on the amount of difference existing in the Alt Catholic, he spoke of time modifying and changing, the difficulty of altering long usages

and ideas, etc. On my observing that the cultus (of the) Blessed Virgin must be a great difficulty, he said that this would, and ought to be, modified, that the cultus was 'unnatural,' that what was said (ordinarily) was 'no calumny but a truth,' that our Lord was put into the shade, that there really was a contradiction between the books of divinity and the common popular usage, the former saying that there was no necessity to pray to the Saints, and for consequence not to the Blessed Virgin Mary; and these devotions of the people (are) cast entirely upon the principles of such worship. On my alluding to Père Hyacinthe and the Swiss movement, he said that the French Swiss would attach themselves to the French line of thought, the German Swiss to the German, difference of language hindering combination; that Père Hyacinthe was putting forward such questions as of the marriage of priests, etc., naturally; but that the Germans considered it quite a subordinate one, that it would follow on any change; and he alluded to the Greek Uniat—priests allowed to have wives—and he implied the same as to other purely disciplinary matters. He then went on to speak of Confession, and alluded to the discussions now rife in England. He gave his opinion freely on some important points . . . that confession ought not to be pressed or over encouraged in little matters; that it was more for serious, deadly sins; that he had in his own experience observed that English ladies were disposed to make too much of little matters, getting up a case for confession without need. He thought this very hurtful, and a misuse of the Sacrament of Penance. He denied that Roman priests required some deadly sin to be recalled in order to give absolution, and spoke of the evil of such an idea; that Roman priests always gave the same form of absolution whenever they absolved. He spoke very strongly of the evil consequences of what universally prevailed, of giving absolution on the mere promise of forsaking sin, so that what was charged against the Roman Confessional of leading persons to sin on from the easy obtaining of pardon, making, as he said, a 'safety valve' for sin, is strictly true, everywhere prevailed. I asked how it had arisen. He only repeated it was certainly the fact. On my suggesting it might be from the difficulty of keeping up a stricter view of Confession in case of such numbers, he put this aside, as not being the case, from the numbers of priests and of persons neglecting confession. He said half the people in Munich kept away from Confession. It would be different, he said, in villages, where the parish

priest knew everybody. On my asking whether all these were therefore debarred communion, he said no; that in towns it would not be known who went to Confession or not; that it could not but be left to every man's own conscience, and that it was equally so in villages where there were monasteries, the monks being Confessors; and as he seemed to imply, they acted without concert with the parish priest. On my asking particularly on the point, he said all parish priests were, of course, from their position, empowered to confess, that their assistant priests also had no difficulty, but were in fact equally empowered; that other priests like himself had to arrange this with the parish priest, but that it was readily agreed to.

"His parting words to me were, that while Russia would have her influence in the East, Germany and England would be the leading nations influencing the West; that we on our side must work towards a future union, which would come after our day."

In June, 1873, Mr. Carter returned home with strength restored, and again took up his work in the parish and Sisterhood.

He was warmly welcomed by parishioners and friends, and to the address in which they expressed their hope that he might "long be spared to watch, as you have always done, over our best and highest interests, and to minister to our spiritual necessities," he returned the subjoined answer:—

"*Clewer Rectory, July* 8, 1873.

"My dear Friends,

"Your kind welcome to me on my return home has deeply affected me, and can never be forgotten by me. To have been restored to the hope of being useful in my appointed duties is a blessing for which I heartily thank Almighty God; but you have added to this the happiness of feeling that I have your affectionate goodwill, which is the greatest possible comfort and encouragement to me.

"In the long period that I have been permitted to minister in this important parish, I am very conscious how imperfectly I have fulfilled what I have desired to do, but your expressions of sympathy lead me to trust that you

accept my desires, and regard kindly what it may please God to allow me to do.

"My children wish me to express their sense of thankfulness to you for your kind thoughts of them, and their delight, in which they unite with me, in being again amongst you.

"I heartily pray that in whatever trials of sickness and infirmity it may be your lot to share, you may have a large measure of that kindness and those consolations which have been richly and most mercifully granted to me in my time of need.

"Believe me to remain,
"Your obliged and faithful friend
"and servant in Christ our Lord,
"T. T. CARTER."

THE REV. T. T. CARTER, M.A.

(*From a Drawing in Chalk by* MRS. NEWTON.)

CHAPTER V.

PENITENTIARY WORK.

One of the first, if not the first, of Mr. Carter's writings was his memoir of "John Armstrong, D.D.," at one time Bishop of Grahamstown. To this book Bishop Samuel Wilberforce contributed a preface, in which he refers to a special feature of Mr. Armstrong's labours, in the following eloquent language:—

"He, above all, awakened through God's blessing those efforts on behalf of the most miserable class of outcast women, which have led to the exercise of so much of that skilful and affectionate care for such penitents, which surely ought especially to mark the followers of Him Who, in spite of the jeers of the Pharisee, suffered the woman 'who had been a sinner' to 'wash His feet with her tears, and to wipe them with the hairs of her head!'"

It is impossible to read this memoir without seeing that Canon Carter and Bishop Armstrong were kindred spirits. The former, writing in 1857, says of penitentiary work, that he regarded it as "one of the greatest and most hopeful efforts of the century, and one calculated far more than can now be estimated to influence the penitential discipline and practical condition of the Church." What T. T. Carter says of J. Armstrong might well be transferred to himself. "The secret source of his untiring ardour in this cause was the exceeding warmth and depth of his love for any object that excited his compassion." Mr. Carter became a pioneer in penitentiary work; that is to say, *effective* penitentiary work. There had

been previous efforts, but these on the whole were weak and defective. These were well meant, but the cure seemed chiefly to be sought in the change of external surroundings—separation from the "occasions" of sin; not enough in the inward change of heart and cleansing of the conscience. Mr. Carter, with his quick insight, saw the impotency of such efforts. Dr. Liddon, too, at once grasped the difference. "The one," he said, "is weeding a garden with your hands, and leaving the roots in the soil; the other, extirpating them with the proper implements." The future Warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer, threw himself heart and soul into this cause, with a zeal and self-devotion which were requisite for overcoming various hindrances. There are never wanting those who attempt to throw cold water upon the flame of charity, especially if connected with personal outlay. It was urged that penitentiaries only increased the evil; that it was a question of supply and demand; and that by lessening the number of these wretched beings the gaps would be filled by the seduction of fresh and innocent souls. Again, the evil was pronounced incurable, and St. Paul's doctrine that "where sin abounded grace might much more abound" denied or distrusted. In fact, the Penitentiary cause was represented as either hurtful or impotent, but the cause prospered. An appeal for funds appeared in March, 1849, and "in June the House of Mercy at Clewer was commenced," and other similar institutions were built, where penitents were received, and not only separated from their past evil life, but brought into a new and pure atmosphere, and gradually transformed by the operation of Divine Grace, and restored to communion with God.

In Canon Carter's great attraction towards Penitentiary work one grand feature of his character may be traced—his inexhaustible sympathy. This may be regarded on two sides—the Divine and the human. In the former, his devotion to Christ, as the Good Shepherd, prompted him to seek and save the lost; in the latter, his keen realization of human misery and helplessness. A perusal of two sermons preached

in 1856, and published by Masters, together with an appeal for the completion of the House of Mercy, would at once indicate this estimate of the character of the Founder of "Clewer." In the first discourse, upon the words, "He hath made Him to be sin for us, Who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him" (2 Cor. v. 21), he touchingly describes our Blessed Lord's dealings with sinners. He loved to trace how human sin and infirmity were allowed to cast their shadows upon our Lord's parentage.

"When the first Evangelist traces the lineage of the Messiah, he is careful to note—as facts important to recall, though but for such a cause our better feelings ever seek to veil the dishonour of our parentage—the more than ordinary stains of sin that marked some members of the chosen family. Recording how 'Juda begat Pharez and Zara,' he states specially that it was 'of Thamar.' Recording how 'Salmon begat Boaz,' he adds 'of Rahab,' elsewhere known as 'the harlot.' And mentioning one of the choicest names of the sacred line, 'David the king,' he reminds us how he 'begat Solomon of her who had been the wife of Urias.'"

And the preacher goes on to show how Christ submitted to circumcision — the "sinner's mark" — and how "His Blessed Mother was purified," as though she had contracted defilement from the bringing forth of the Sinless One! In the same way the "Temptation," the eating with publicans and sinners, "the breathing the peace of His healing absolution" into the soul of the fallen woman, and rebuking her, not guiltless, accusers, show his love for the lost ones of His fold.

Then Mr. Carter's sympathy was excited by the circumstances of the poor and suffering outcast.

"It should, moreover," he says, "move us to think that all this misery may have arisen from causes to which the poor alone are subject. For their children suffer, in a manner unknown to others, from exposure, from too close contact in cottages, with insufficient space to separate the sexes and preserve the veil even of common decency; from too great

familiarity in the times of labour, in the field, where all ages and both sexes mingle without restraint; or in the way homewards, unguarded amid the contaminations of the hamlet, or along the crowded street, etc."

At the close of the discourse he revealed his intense pity for the fallen woman, "often much more sinned against than sinning." Later in life, and from a larger experience, he was led to modify in a degree this estimate of relative guilt. A study of these two sermons, from the former of which we have made extracts, will clearly show the thoughts and feelings which lay at the root of that sympathy for the fallen which was ever a characteristic of the Warden of Clewer.

He felt the Church had failed to extend her ministry to those sinful and degraded beings, and that the world's estimate of the degradation was one-sided.

"Certainly the hard distinctions which the conventionalities of society have drawn can have no place here. As there can be no limit to the sympathy with which 'Christ's' Sacred Heart yearned towards the fallen, or to His power of restoring them, there can be no ground for excluding from the range of our compassion, or the possibilities of complete renovation, any even of the deadliest sins.

"Yet such exclusion has been made in the case which we are now especially considering; for though fallen woman has not sinned alone, how entirely in the world's eye has the undivided burden of guilt fallen upon her! While the partners of her sin pass in and out among us, unnoticed, save by the sleepless Eye of God, on her has lain the blight of a hopeless excommunication. Even the Church has failed in its love towards her. The ministerings of the Son of Man have through us been straitened in her case. This is said deliberately; for though some penitentiaries have long since been established amongst us, it has not been by the direct action of the Church, nor has the love and self-devotedness of the Gospel in their highest forms animated the work."

Canon Carter's name will ever be intimately connected with the rise and progress of penitentiary work in the English Church, and with the infusion of new life into it.

In the memoir of Bishop Armstrong (which was dedicated to "Robert Gray, Lord Bishop of Capetown, who planted the English Episcopate in South Africa"), Mr. Carter devotes more than fifty pages to the history of the rise and progress of the "Church Penitentiary Cause," and to the part which Bishop Armstrong took in it. This book was his earliest effort at portraiture, and it seems to have been written in accordance with those comments upon biography with which Bishop Samuel Wilberforce begins his preface to the memoir, and which we think well worth quoting. He says—

"Biography depends for its interest and usefulness upon that answering of heart to heart which makes one man, in so far as he is thoroughly human, an exponent to another of his own inward being. It is not, therefore, in depicting singularity of character, or in relating strange adventure, that the highest merit of biography consists. Such narratives as these can at best but move the mind to wonder, or excite it to a passing interest. But the revelation of the depths of the heart and spirit of another, even though the outward incidents of his life be in themselves ordinary and commonplace, may be full of the highest dramatic interest for one exercised by the same inward trials, and engaged in a like outward struggle."

The great bishop requires in the biographer, first, the capacity of understanding the character he is to draw; and secondly, truthfulness in his narrative; and in the subject, "thoroughly human traits of character;" of course, in a spiritual biography, those "human traits of character," purified, illuminated, and transformed by the Spirit of God.

Mr. Armstrong had already observed, in a volume of sermons which were preached at Exeter, the shallowness of repentance, in the methods of recovery at that time adopted; when notorious sinners were subjected to no penitential discipline, in order to deepen their sorrow for sin, and to form humility by any course of humiliation, with the result that spiritual disease was not eradicated, and relapse was but a natural consequence of such laxness. Though without any experience of such necessities at the time, he saw, for such an

evil to be grappled with and overcome, the need of relieving the burdened conscience from the load of past transgressions, and of absolution through the precious Blood of Christ, before drawing near to the Altar of God. Mr. Carter—"from private intercourse with Mr. Armstrong" upon this godly discipline, the restoration of which, was annually said, "is much to be wished,"[1] though there the momentous matter rested—knew Mr. Armstrong's mind. They both perceived the great difficulties of penitentiary work, which experience has since confirmed. But Mr. Carter had practical experience of the subject. If Mr. Armstrong is unquestionably to be regarded as the originator of the Church Penitentiary movement, and if the sermon preached by the "then Archdeacon Manning," entitled "Saints and Penitents," also gave an impulse to it,—Mr. Carter carried out into practice on a large scale the penitentiary system. In fact, in point of time, he was already occupied with it, for "the works," he says, "at Clewer and Wantage arose independently of those plans and consultations" referred to in the memoir; they were "remarkable instances of a concurrent quickening of many hearts, without mutual communication, which is one mark of Divine influence." It has been written,—"It is remarkable how seldom, if ever, the works of God spring from one Fountain."

Mr. Armstrong was an enthusiast. When the "Church Penitentiary Association" was formed in the Metropolis—a Society which from that day to this has been doing excellent work in this great cause—and there was a service and meeting, he was almost overpowered with joy. He says, "Glorious interview with the Bishop of London; he has given his hearty consent; promises to bring it before the Archbishops and Bishops. The matter is clenched, thank God. My joy is tremendous." All will delight in the naturalness and charm of such a character. Mr. Carter's joy would be quite as great, and deep and calm, if less demonstrative. He knew more of the work by actual experience of its difficulties, and of the need of

[1] Commination Service.

hopefulness in those who would build anew "the walls of Jerusalem," when they had been reduced to ruins.

There were, it seems to us, three features of Mr. Carter's teaching which marked off this new era in penitentiary work from those "well meant" attempts for the recovery of the fallen which had preceded it. One of these relates more especially to the past; another, to the present; and a third, to the future. First, confession he certainly regarded as almost a necessity in such cases for the restoration to purity. It was about this time he brought out his treatise on "The Doctrine of Confession in the Church of England," and there can be little doubt that his experiences in penitentiary work had forced the subject especially upon his attention. The book, of course, excited much criticism, but the criticism was unable to controvert any doctrinal or historical position which the author had taken up. Moreover, he turned the edge of the opposition by the gentle reminder in his preface to a second edition, that "confession, not being a purely doctrinal matter, forms no exception to the axiom of modern philosophy; that in order to arrive at a reliable judgment on a practical question, some personal acquaintance with its actual working is requisite. Such adverse criticisms are not advanced by those who use confession." Mr. Carter's advocacy was of voluntary, not compulsory, confession. He regarded this as a "vital distinction." But he did feel that a Penitentiary could not cure those extreme cases without this medicine. Yet even in such an Institution there was no rule to enforce this ministry of reconciliation. No such rule would be necessary. The Warden of Clewer felt that an absolute rule might "tend to produce a formal and forced use of what especially requires the full surrender of the renewed will, in order to be a living and acceptable service." In this, we may note a feature of Mr. Carter's character, frequently recurring, his dislike of hard and fast rules. He says, "At the time of the Reformation the compulsory system of confession had been fairly tested by a long experience. It is but fair to attribute considerable weight to the practical judgment of

those who had witnessed its operation, and decided against it apparently with general consent." Further, he does not regard our later experience of its working in foreign Churches "as calculated to create a desire to return to the compulsory law binding every one alike." He thinks, too, a compulsory rule may "drive the heart into resistance," and so justifies the Church of England in her preference for an unforced confession, even at "the risk of a relaxed rule." That the relaxed rule does not deter people from seeking this help may be evidenced by Mr. Carter's words in his preface to the second edition of his work. He says—

"The rapid increase of the practice of confession during the last four or five years, among persons of all ages and classes, and both sexes, notwithstanding all attempts to discountenance it, is a sufficient proof that this prolonged and anxious controversy has at length found its solution in the happiest and surest way—in the witness of souls innumerable, comforted, guided, strengthened, in the paths of Christian faith and virtue. Those who have been the objects of attack and suspicion, because of their advocacy of confession, have no need to retaliate. They have already their sufficient revenge in the gratitude of the great multitude, whether in heaven or on earth, ascribing to their ministry, under God, the peace and joy into which they have entered, if not the very salvation of their souls."

The second step in advance in penitentiary work was the forming of a Sisterhood for the care of penitents. This was the first purpose of the Sisterhood of St. John the Baptist. Clewer was a good place in which to begin such a work. It "embraced within its limits one of those sin-stricken spots too often found in the purlieus of our populous towns and the neighbourhood of barracks." "It pleased God," writes Mr. Carter, "that within sight of this haunt of vice our first Church Penitentiary should arise." Through the influence of the widow of a clergyman, Mrs. Tennant, and the zeal of Mr. Johnson (afterwards Archdeacon Furse), a few fallen women had been drawn to give up evil ways, and, through her great kindness, found a temporary abode in Mrs. Tennant's house. These

formed a nucleus, and then others gathered round them, and so began the penitentiary work at Clewer. From this loving work of Mrs. Tennant, the idea of working this Rescue Home by means of a Sisterhood began. We will leave Mr. Carter to relate this touching story himself. In a pamphlet entitled "The First Ten Years of the House of Mercy, Clewer," he says—

"Our first intention was only to house these women for a while, till they could be transferred to a London Penitentiary. But as the numbers increased, and they became fondly attached to their benefactress, and she urgently desired to devote herself to their care, the idea arose of forming an institution, to be carried on in the same spirit in which the work had been commenced, by women devoting themselves for the love of God, as Mrs. Tennant had done.

"It was an anxious question. We were entirely inexperienced in penitentiary work. No precedent in the Church of England was known to us of a Penitentiary of the kind proposed. Strong popular prejudice would certainly have to be met. The prospect of finding persons able and ready to devote themselves was wholly uncertain, and without such fellow-helpers the design was impracticable. In the present day, when the hearts of so many have been stirred to such works, it is not easy to realize the doubts which then suggested themselves as to the probability of such a spirit arising. Moreover, the mere cost of founding and maintaining such an institution could not but be very great, and we had no fund to which we could look to meet our expenses from day to day."

The Clewer House of Mercy was founded in 1849, and "indissolubly connected with the Church of England," and by its constitution the bishop of the diocese is appointed the Visitor, if he will act. A Council, clerical and lay, in equal proportion, held, and still holds, an important place in the organization, whose duty it is, not to interfere in the internal arrangements or management of the House, but control expenditure, attend to the finances, and to take such matters into consideration as may be rightly brought under their notice. In all this Mr. Carter exhibited certain practical qualities

which are not commonly combined with a meditative or contemplative turn of mind. There are not wanting those who would have left the whole working of such an institution in the hands of Sisters, but the plan of the founder of Clewer was a wise one. It is not meant that there are no Sisters who can keep accounts. There are some who would be a credit to any finance committee, or place of business, but perhaps they are "few and far between." Still, such are needed (even where there is a finance committee) to keep accounts, and prepare the balance-sheet for the meetings. It is wished here to call attention to this feature of the organization, which emanated from the brain of Mr. Carter, who, although he was often absorbed and absent, yet could be very practical. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce used to say of him, "He is often *upstairs;*" and so he was, but he was not "in the clouds," he was beyond them! And he could quickly come down and transact business with a clear head, and a strong grasp of the subject.

The demands of penitentiary work led to the formation of the Community of St. John the Baptist, Clewer. The Sisterhood was founded in 1852, three years after the House of Mercy was founded; it was not only *post hoc,* but *propter hoc.* The few women gathered in by Mrs. Tennant's labours, it was found difficult to manage. There are three ways of trying to manage a body of so-called penitents—by the paid services of a matron and staff, by the oversight of ladies who gratuitously give their time and labours, and by Sisters of Mercy. Mr. Carter quickly saw, though, we believe, without previous experience, which of the three was the best. We have experience of all three methods of working a Penitentiary tried upon the same class of women; and the two former failed, whilst the latter succeeded. The trained Sister, simply by her influence, aided by her habit, soon brought order out of chaos. New forces seemed to be at work, and the same women became orderly and restful. The Work in question was raised from the moral to the spiritual sphere; and the Sister was sent to it by Mr. Carter.

This, perhaps, requires some explanation. Two reasons may be suggested as helping to bring about this change. It is a common idea that the women who are admitted within the walls of a penitentiary are penitents, as they are called. Those who have any practical experience of this work know that this is a fallacy. They are often removed thither by the strong influence of relatives, or of the clergy of the parish. Many of them have not tasted the misery of sin. Even those who are weary of an evil life have often little penitence when they come and ring at the gate and ask for admission. Penitence has to be formed after they are admitted in a very great number of cases, and Sisters—trained Sisters—become experts in teaching and training these inmates in the path of penitence, and in preparing to lay down the burden of their sins at the foot of the Cross. Mr. Carter saw with quick eye the advantage over the old Penitentiaries in "the employment of self-devoted women, serving for Christ's sake, instead of paid matrons." "Sisterhoods," he says, "arose out of the Church Penitentiary movement from the very necessities of the case." But when these ideas were at first ventilated, they were considered more than quixotic. The idea, it was thought, would be enough to deter young ladies from offering themselves for Sisters, and families from allowing them to enter Sisterhoods, where such a work was carried on. It aroused a complex objection, first to Sisterhood life in itself, and then to the work for which Sisterhoods were being formed.

But Mr. Carter's idea went further than this. He did commit the teaching and training of the penitents to the Sisters. So strong was he on this point that the clergy had little communication with the penitents, except of a sacramental character. They were usually in training for a year before they were prepared for Communion. Nothing was "rushed" or hurried at Clewer. And it was to the Sisters' influence that Mr. Carter looked as a transforming power. The Clewer Sisters have under their training now more than three hundred and thirty penitents; of these about one hundred and twenty are at Clewer. It was not merely the individual

influence of a pure and refined lady upon the poor degraded soul, but the atmosphere, which a number of such devout ladies generated. It was a counterpoise to the atmosphere of evil which a gathering of degraded women is apt to produce. A well-known fellow-worker in the same field, rather given to make use of trenchant terms, when asked how many penitents he had in his House of Mercy, replied, "So many, and I would not have more if I could;" and when asked to give the reason for this, he replied, "It would make the devil too strong." There was common sense in this, and so it was a part of Mr. Carter's idea in creating a Sisterhood, whose primary work should be penitentiary, to counterbalance the power of evil by a collection of pure, devout, dedicated souls, from whom would emanate a victorious power for good. Such, then, was the second difference between the old and the new penitentiary work, by the employment of "regulars" to overthrow a terrible and established social evil.

A third difference may be found in the enlargement of the possible vista which now opens up before a penitent, that of a devoted life after the course of penitence is ended, the life of a Magdalen. There are instances in every penitentiary of the truth of St. Paul's words, "where sin abounded grace did much more abound," where souls have not only the grace of repentance, but have drawings to a higher and holier life—wonderful formations of virtue, which derive some of their strength from the memories of past and forgiven sin. Those who seem capable by God's grace of rising to a dedicated life, have at Clewer the opportunity of making the attempt. There is a foundation, and, we believe, endowment, for a certain number of Magdalens, who enter upon a course of training for a higher life than that only of the penitent. And these, when faithful, are of the greatest service in a large penitentiary, by good advice and high example, bringing by their self-dedication and separateness from the world, hope and encouragement to those who shared their sins, but have not yet quite overcome, and risen out of, the past. It has been said that in the new education system, any poor boy in

town or village, if he has a gift, will be able to use it and to rise to some position of rank and honour; so in this comparatively new penitentiary system any soul, however degraded in the past, may, if persevering, still recover some genius for holiness, rise to the demands of a dedicated life, a dedication in a different form from that of the Sister of Mercy, yet having a beauty of its own, as a rose differs from a lily.

Besides this, Mr. Carter saw the necessity of widening the *social* area of repentance. "One crying want is a separate department for penitents of a higher grade." Of old, only those who came from what is called "the lower classes" entered the Penitentiaries; now a part of the Clewer building is used for the reception of "lady penitents," who are altogether separated from the rougher elements, and put under rule—quite as necessary in their case as with those who had not the same privileges and safeguards.

Inebriates also are received, whose cure is a most difficult work. Mr. Carter did not hold any extreme views upon the temperance question. The subject was naturally very much in the air at Windsor, where the honoured Founder of the "Church of England Temperance Society" resided. In early days teetotalism, in its absolute form, was very much insisted upon, and Mr. Carter, seeing how much drunkenness was to be found in his parish and in the neighbourhood, wishing to be an example—and always ready to take up with anything which was designed to ameliorate the condition of the masses—became a total abstainer, and persisted in this course until a breakdown in health obliged him to yield to medical advice. But although he practised teetotalism for a time, he was never a convinced teetotaler. A hard-and-fast line in this, as in other things, did not commend itself to him. He was amused about a doctor recommending total abstinence, "when he employed rectified spirits in making his tinctures." In the early days of penitentiary work it was found impossible to cut off all stimulants at once, when many of the women had been for years very heavy drinkers, some almost upon the verge of *delirium tremens* when they were admitted

into the Penitentiary; and, perhaps, had hard work in the laundry at once to do, with which they may not have been previously familiar. Yet Mr. Carter would be fully alive to the importance of, and even necessity for, total abstinence to effect a cure, if possible, in many chronic cases of inebriety, but he could never regard teetotalism as the aim of all people, whether tempted to excess or not. After a while, too, in the neighbourhood more moderate views were current, and rash utterances in the early zeal for the temperance cause were no longer heard; and the dual basis of the Church of England Temperance Society became a more recognized part of the movement. We might venture to say, that one prominent feature in Mr. Carter's mental equipment was a well-balanced mind. This is not always to be found, as in his case, combined with intense eagerness and ardour for moral and spiritual reforms. He was quick to detect anything extravagant or one-sided; and this combination of zeal and wisdom (amongst other qualities) made him to be regarded as a leader of the Church movement. In the matter we have under consideration, he would feel a want of balance in some of the temperance advocacy of the day. He would know that from the days of St. Gregory, four virtues have been called "cardinal"—prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude; and he would regard as unbalanced the teaching which centred only upon one of these. Further, he would know that temperance must be exercised not only in checking excess in drink, but applies also to food, and generally to the delights of the senses. Mr. Carter was no great student of the Schoolmen, but he would probably know what Aquinas has said in the "Summa" on the question, "Whether the use of wine is totally illicit?" And Mr. Carter would certainly have come into contact in his spiritual work with those who declined the use of the chalice, on the ground of extreme teetotal views. And above all this, our Lord's institution of the Blessed Sacrament, the first miracle in Cana, and St. Paul's advice to Timothy,[1] would to his mind be Scriptural grounds

[1] 1 Tim. v. 23.

for a moderate judgment upon this topic, and for a sensible line in dealing with this evil in penitentiary work.

Whilst zeal for the recovery of the lost had been stirred in the hearts of Armstrong and Carter by mutual intercourse, the prevalence of the sins of lust and intemperance was continually impressed upon Canon Carter by the sights in his own parish and district. This was also a moving cause of the creation of the Clewer House of Mercy.

"There is," says the late Rector of Clewer,[1] "the continued sight of such misery close to our own homes, and in the sphere of my pastoral care, that has led me to form a retreat where penitents coming forth from those depths of debasement may share, if it be possible, the merits and virtues of the all-sufficient Sacrifice of the Cross, which is *our* only hope, and is surely *theirs* also. There is a haunt within my parish, such as, alas! is not uncommonly found in the suburbs of our towns, whither, as to a sink of shame, flow in from all the villages around, and from the great city, the outcasts of many a saddened home. They stray away from the scenes of their childhood, and are lost amidst the crowd which wanders through our lanes and courts. My frequent walk is among sights of degraded womanhood, which, God grant, may never darken the hearth of any one of you."

To such as these,—but delivered from the thraldom of Satan,—besides the Sisters, Canon Carter ministered to the very end of his protracted life, for a period of more than fifty years. He preached on Sunday nights to such a gathering as this, first in the old chapel, and afterwards in the present large and beautiful structure. It might be thought by many that his depth of thought and meditative style, and long sentences, would be far beyond the reach of mind and of devotion of these fallen women, and be only appreciated by the Sisters. It may be admitted that occasionally the length of the sermon would try some of them. But on the whole, the sight of his face, its radiant look at times, and the sweet gentleness of his delivery—likened, by one who heard him often, to the dropping of honey from his lips—could sustain

[1] "Mercy for the Fallen," p. 21.

their attention, and their great reverence for him would preserve their patience, when his thoughts were gone up beyond their reach. It is a mistake, however, to imagine that a congregation of women called penitents is necessarily an obtuse audience. There would be in a large penitentiary such as Clewer a considerable variety of grade, capacity, and education, a few familiar with other countries and quick-witted, most of them intelligent. Here is a brief outline of a sermon preached before this assembly on November 25, 1866, by the Warden.

Text—St. Luke v. 31: "They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick," etc.

(i.) What was the difference between St. Matthew and the Pharisees? One just healed; the other not feeling need of healing.

(ii.) The felt need of healing, a mark of God's elect. All Sacraments a purpose of healing—Baptism, Absolution, Holy Eucharist.

I. Four different states—

(i.) *Some never on a bed of sickness*—unfallen angels.

(ii.) *Some healed or being cleansed for God's Presence*—the Holy Dead.

(iii.) *Some on earth being healed,* wrestling against their faults and using all remedies.

(iv.) *Some being perfectly healed,* not only coming to the physician in a great emergency, but again and again, to be healed of the faults that arise, seeking perfect health.

II. The great Physician—

(i.) comes when you call Him—need of prayer.

(ii.) The more you call Him, the more He comes.

(iii.) The doctor bears his cases in mind, studies the causes, remedies, treatment; the great Physician bears each one in His Heart.

(iv.) The earthly physician has limited powers; the Heavenly, infinite—no case so bad He cannot cure.

Lessons: cultivate the sense of need—prayer; cure always possible.

It will be seen from this outline that there are several points eminently suited to excite contrition and call forth hope in sin-laden souls, and to remind dedicated souls of the need of going on to perfection by the avoidance of the least sins.

The following is a sermon which was preached on the Second Sunday after Easter, by the Rev. Canon Carter, when in his ninety-third year—his last Easter sermon. It is said to have been taken down *verbatim* by one who heard it.

"Text—Eph. iv. 14, 15: 'That we be no more children, tossed to and fro. . . . but speaking the truth in love, may grow up unto Him in all things.'

"Speaking the truth—that is to say, become '*true* children,' not 'tossed to and fro'—implies we should become steady—growing on.

"Characteristics of childhood, instability. . . . Our Lord came to give us a standard life, and we are not right, if the desire is not within us, to rise higher! He gave us a high example, and the Holy Spirit works within us to carry out this high example.

"He came to raise us above ourselves, and our life should be passed in the thought of Him. . . . I would leave with you two thoughts—

"1. Our Lord, as our Head and as our great Example.

"2. Our own growth towards it.

"1. His example. His Spirit within us raises us to it.

"'I am come, that they may have life.' We may have different aims and many varied examples set before us; but our Lord's is the *truest* example set before us, and *He likens us to it*, if we keep Him ever in mind, and lose not His Presence with us.

"2. *Our soul is formed to grow*, and we have a sense of power in God raising us.

"'Speaking the truth in love.' Try to combine these two graces—else truth may be too stern. Many of us are quick of speech, and fail to measure our words, and by our words may quickly fall or rise. Our Lord would have us connect these two virtues, truth and love, and so daily rise, overcoming our faults in the daily use and daily exercise of them, daily remembering our Lord's Example and the Presence of the Blessed Spirit—that in our consciousness of

His Son, we may rise more perfectly above the faults we so often commit. . . .

"We grow more faithful, as we keep our Lord's Pattern and Example in our mind. The *aim* we take governs us, a *high* aim raises us, a high sense of our Lord's Presence is important, and should regulate our tempers and conversations.

"The higher *aim* we have, the truer we become, and our whole beings are regulated by it.

"And in this we have God's Blessing. So may His Grace ever be with us, raising us ever more and more as we seek to rise, and *grow* after the Pattern He has set before us."

Canon Carter preached for the last time in his life in the House of Mercy Chapel, at Evensong, on Sunday, August 18, 1901. During all those years his zeal for the salvation of souls had an attractive force, and the numbers of the fallen who sought admission to the House of Mercy soon exceeded the capacities of the building, so that soon another wing had to be added to the Penitentiary. The Warden's zeal also stirred up others in the neighbourhood, and the Provost and several Fellows of Eton became members of the council. The buildings for penitents were completed in 1855, and opened by the Bishop of Oxford. "The pressure," writes Mr. Carter, "for admittance was overpowering." It was found that more than half the applications came from London, which led to the establishment of "reception" houses, or refuges, in the metropolis, which supply a test and a preparation for entrance into the Penitentiaries. To show how this beneficent movement, which owes so much to Canon Carter, has extended, it may be mentioned, that according to the "Guide" of the Church Penitentiary Association, just published, there are now two hundred and thirty-eight Penitentiaries, Preventive Homes, and Refuges in London and country, besides a "Continuation Home" and "Central House" for the training of rescue workers. Of course, we do not intend to attribute this vast movement to the solitary influence of Mr. Carter; but he certainly took a leading part in the movement, and without an equal in length of years; and "Clewer" alone at

the present time is in charge of more than one hundred penitents at the Mother House; thirteen at the Refuge, Pimlico, and "higher class" penitents, four; about fifty at the Manor House, Oxford; ninety at Bovey Tracey, Devon; about sixty at the House of Mercy, Highgate; thirty, St. Michael's Home, Leamington; thirty at St. Mary's Home, Salisbury; fifty at the House of Mercy, Maplestead; and in addition to these institutions, there are several "Preventive" Homes, one "for children under eleven," where fifty-five have been received. We give these numbers to show the width of the penitentiary work under the rules of Clewer, and so immediately connected with Canon Carter and animated by his spirit. Whilst treating in this chapter of the Warden of Clewer as the head of a great network of organized efforts to save the lost, those who know the "inner life" of these institutions will bear witness to the wonderful change which the discipline and atmosphere of devotion, by the grace of God, bring about in those who had led lives of sin. All that was coarse and degrading seems, as a rule, to be dispelled by the *genius loci*. Of course, there are exceptions, which are usually to be found in the case of those who have not tasted the bitter fruits of sin, but have been sent into such Home by parents and clergy, with little or no penitence in their hearts. Perhaps we may venture, in order to have directly Canon Carter's thoughts in dealing with penitents, to quote some portions of "offices" composed by him for use on special occasions in the Chapel. In the book are "offices" for "the reception of a penitent," for "a blessing" on her departure, for "the admission of a Magdalen on probation," for "the consecration of a penitent." Here is a prayer "for a penitent about to be received"—

"O Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst suffer the woman from the city to kneel at Thy feet, and wash them with her tears; look favourably upon Thy servant, that being restored to the Ordinances of Thy Sanctuary, she may persevere in the ways of true repentance, may obtain of Thee peace and a renewed life, and being cleansed from all her sins, may abide steadfast

to the end, through Thy merits, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest for ever. Amen."

Here is the final prayer said at the Service of Dismissal, which is still more touching; as in the form of Admission it is a stranger, but in that of Departure one well-known in the House. The penitents are all assembled in the chapel, whilst the one who is leaving stands before the altar. The hymn, "Jesu, grant me this, I pray, ever in Thy Heart to stay," is sung, after which the priest is instructed to pray as follows:—

"O Almighty God, Who orderest all our ways, we beseech Thee to watch over this Thy child with Thy special and increasing love. Show her the way wherein she ought to go, and keep her steadfast therein, even to the end. Uphold her, Blessed Lord, with Thy mighty arm in all her temptations and weakness, lest she sink into the deep waters. Give her grace to bear her cross, and remove from her all evil thoughts and desires. May she carry in her heart the image of Jesus crucified. Teach her to love Thee, O God; to be thankful and contented in all Thy appointments for her; to endure all things meekly; and may she be preserved pure and blameless in body, soul, and spirit, and, all her sins being blotted out in the Blood of the Everlasting Covenant, may she be saved for ever in the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

We would call attention to Mr. Carter's reference to the Atonement—"All her sins being blotted out in the Blood of the Everlasting Covenant." His strong grasp of this doctrine was a marked feature in his belief, to which we shall have occasion to refer presently in another connection.

Two extracts from the solemn office "for the consecration of a penitent" as a Magdalen must suffice.

The Warden is thus instructed to address her:—

"My child, we trust that you are called by Almighty God to make the choice to which your long preparations have been leading you, and that He has given you courage and a good will to devote yourself wholly, your body and your soul, to His service," etc.

Then she makes her promise in the presence of God "to pass a life separated from the world, in penitence, obedience, and quietness," to accept the penitential rule, and faithfully serve God, "after the example of St. Mary Magdalen, the chief of penitents, by whose name I am called. Amen."

Mr. Carter, with the Western Church, identified St. Mary Magdalene with the unnamed sinner mentioned by St. Luke.[1] A quotation from a published sermon will show this. Preaching on the words, "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus, His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary, the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene," he says—

"There is yet a fourth, standing by the cross, near as the others, Mary Magdalene. She had been known in early life by a far different course from that of her companions, by a notoriety which has clung to her name through all ages. She is known as 'the sinner from the city;' so unclean that seven devils had entered into her. But she had learnt to loathe her sin, and had knelt at the feet of Jesus, washing them with her tears, and wiping them with the hairs of her head, once the snares of accursed love, but now offered to Him Who in mercy had drawn her to Himself, to love Him only. She had heard Him pronounce her forgiveness, and from that hour had cleaved to Him as the life and joy of her soul, and followed, ministering to Him of her substance. She is the pattern of all those who, having fallen and become dead in trespasses and sins, have heard in the depths of their souls the voice of God calling them, and have torn themselves from their entanglements in which they were bound, and sought a perfect cleansing through His redeeming love in following His holy ways, giving themselves, and all they have, to Him."

The work which Canon Carter began in the House of Mercy, Clewer, for penitents, did not end there. The Sisters now numbered hundreds, and their work has extended into many parts, both in England and abroad, and is of different kinds to meet different needs. The following list will give some idea of the extent of their beneficent operations, and the perpetuation of their founder's influence:—

[1] Ch. vii. 47. See Hutchings, "Sermon Sketches" (Longmans), second series, p. 175.

St. John's Home, Clewer. Established in 1885. A Home and Industrial School for girls of respectable parentage, accommodating 68 children.

St. Andrew's Convalescent Home, Clewer. Established in 1861, with beds for 85 men, women, and children.

St. Andrew's Almshouses. Opened in 1868, for poor ladies.

St. Stephen's College, Clewer St. Stephen. Established in 1867. A Private Boarding-school for the daughters of gentlemen.

St. Stephen's High School for Girls. Begun 1881. A boarding-house is attached.

St. Stephen's Mission, Clewer St. Stephen. Comprises National School for boys, girls and infants, and an Intermediate School for girls; and mission work is extensively carried on.

St. Augustine's Home for Boys, Clewer.

St. John Baptist's School, 105, King Henry's Road, South Hampstead, for daughters of gentlemen.

St. Barnabas' Orphanage and Industrial School, 6, 7, and 8, Bloomfield Place, Pimlico, S.W; with branch at Chislehurst, for 70 orphans to be trained for service.

St. Barnabas' Mission, 17, Pimlico Road, Pimlico, S.W. Mission work among the poor, Sunday-schools, Guilds, etc.

The Refuge, 21, Commercial Road, Pimlico, S.W., for the reception of fallen women; and at 23, Commercial Road, for higher-class penitents.

Home of the Good Shepherd, Leytonstone. Established 1861. For 65 girls and children to be trained for service.

All Saints' Home, Hawley, Blackwater, Hants. Opened 1881. Same as last-named.

School for Church Embroidery, 72, Gower St., W.C. A Home for girls who earn their living by Church embroidery.

The House of Charity, Greek St., Soho, W. Established 1864. For the temporary relief of the homeless.

St. Albans' Mission, 26, Gray's Inn Road, Holborn, W.C. Work among the poor and sick, Night Schools, Bible Classes, Guilds, etc., etc.

All Hallow's Mission, 127, Union St., Borough, S.E. Work commenced in 1875 amongst the poorest in London. Similar to the one above.

The Home for Working Girls, 47, 48, 49, Nelson Square, Blackfriars Road, S.E. Begun 1880. Accommodates 70 girls.

St. Frideswide's Mission House, Lodore St., Poplar, E. Mission work begun in connection with the Christ Church Mission, Oxford, in 1882.

St. Mary's, 35, Vincent Square, Westminster. Mission work amongst the poor, begun in 1890. Bible Classes, Girls' Clubs, Sunday-schools, Band of Hope, etc. In 1893 the Sisters working here at the request of the Major-General of the Home district undertook the visiting of "Married Quarters," Brigade of Guards at Chelsea, Wellington, the Tower, Windsor Barracks, and Caterham.

House of Mercy, North Hill, Highgate, N. Penitentiary for fallen women. Undertaken in 1901.

The Oxford Penitentiary, Manor House, Holywell, Oxford. Carried on under the same rule as at Clewer.

House of Mercy, Bovey Tracey, Newton Abbot, Devon. Founded in 1863. A home for fallen women to accommodate 90 penitents to be trained for domestic service.

Mission House, Bovey Tracey, Newton Abbot, Devon, where the Sisters carry on work among the poor. A mission house was built in 1879, and a branch mission was opened at Bovey Heathfield in 1889.

St. Raphael's Home, Torquay. Established 1866. A Convalescent Home for Women.

St. Luke's Home, Torquay. Established in 1883, for men patients.

St. Barnabas' Home, Torquay. Established in 1892, for incurable and permanent patients, men and women.

Cyprus, a small addition to the above for patients not so helpless.

St. Lucy's Home of Charity, Hare Lane, Gloucester. Girls are here trained for service. There is also an incurable ward for women and children.

Newark House, Hempstead. A training home for girls exposed to evil influences.

St. Lucy's Free Hospital for Children of the Poor, Gloucester.

St. Andrew's Convalescent Home, East Cliff, Folkestone. Established in 1875, for 130 patients.

St. Eanswythe's Mission, Folkestone, where, since 1875, the Sisters have carried on various mission works under the clergy of the parish.

St. Saviour's Mission, Folkestone. Work amongst exclusively poor people in a large parish.

St. John Baptist Mission, Newport, Mon. Begun in

1877. Guilds, Bible Classes, Sunday Schools, Mothers' Meetings, Clothing Depôt, and Dispensary.

A Rescue Home, opened 1881. 55 girls can be accommodated.

St. Michael's Home, Leamington. A diocesan penitentiary, of which the Sisters took charge in 1884.

St. Mary's Home, Salisbury (the same as the above). Work commenced here in 1889. Accommodation for 30 penitents.

Mission Work in the parish of St. Mary and St. John, 16, Magdalen Road, Cowley St. John, Oxford. Undertaken in 1890.

House of Mercy, Great Maplestead, Halstead, Essex. The Sister undertook the care of this in 1892. 50 penitents.

Works in India, in the Diocese of Calcutta, begun in 1881.

The Lady Canning Home. Headquarters of the Calcutta Hospital Nurses' Institution.

The Pratt Memorial School for 80 boarders, chiefly Eurasians, besides day scholars.

The European Orphanage, where 60 orphans of European parentage are admitted.

The Diocesan Mission House, Ballygunge. A boarding-school for 80 native Christian girls; a day school for Hindu girls; Mission work and a Hindu day school for boys and girls in another district; visiting of 35 village schools; examinations, etc.

Diocesan Girls' School, Darjeeling, for children of Anglo-Indian parents. In 1897 there were 70 boarders, besides day scholars. Works in America.

The St. John Baptist House, 233, East 17 Street, New York, is the Mother House of the Community in America, and there are several branch Houses.

PART OF HOUSE OF MERCY, WITH WEST END OF CHAPEL.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMMUNITY OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST.

Mr. Carter's first great work, besides his parish work, is to be found in that of "Mercy for the Fallen." The Penitentiary really began in 1849; the Sisterhood was founded in 1852. The one work was not only after the other, but also in consequence of the other. We must, even at the risk of repetition, mention again the achievement of Mrs. Tennant in taking into her own house girls from the worst quarter of a garrison town, and the zealous service of the Rev. Wellington Johnson, better known now as the late Archdeacon Furse, who combined with Eton duties some of the labours of an additional curate, and took the deepest interest in what may be called the venture of Mrs. Tennant, as afterwards he was always interested in everything to do with penitentiary work. We also are informed that Mrs. Tennant, after resigning the care of her refuge, first in Clewer village, and after on Clewer Hill, continued some form of rescue work in Bier Lane, Windsor. It was about this time the germ of this great Sisterhood appeared in the persons of Mrs. Monsell, the future Sister Elizabeth, and Sister Ellen. It was found impossible to cope with the increase of penitentiary work without trained oversight in the House of Mercy, or rather in that part of it which then existed. We have letters which describe the immense powers for work which Mr. Carter possessed, and how love for God and man set them in motion. He worked in his parish, or was writing in his study, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily, when he had a meat

tea. This was soon done, and he went off quickly after it to the House of Mercy, coming home at 9, or later. He did this latter when far advanced in life, but he was always supposed to come home to dine at 7 or 7.30, yet, through pressure of work, he was frequently later. Notwithstanding the burdens of his life, and notwithstanding his absorption in spiritual work, always serious, and often sad, his face was like a sunbeam when he entered the family circle or joined his guests. His work was evidently his joy. He could write or revise proofs, whilst at tea, and in the midst of conversation, perfectly undistracted.

About this time, when the penitents still attended the parish church services, and had no chapel of their own, the Rector was engaged in forming a new hymn-book, which was used until it was supplanted by "Ancient and Modern." As to the order of events, Mr. Carter writes—

"It should be observed that we did not plan the formation of a Sisterhood and then seek a work for it; but the work came to us to be done, and a Sisterhood was the only practicable instrument for carrying it on."

It is probable that in the case of other Sisterhoods the order of events was much the same. It is our English way of doing things, for the practical element is commonly stronger than the devotional in the English character. Moreover, it must be remembered that a Sisterhood was a novel idea at this date, and, by means of utility, had to justify its existence in our land. Dr. Pusey said of Sisterhoods about this time—

"Why should we not also, instead of our desultory visiting societies, have our *sœurs de la charité*, where spotless and religious purity might be their passport amid the scenes of misery and loathsomeness, carrying that awe about them which even sin feels towards undefiledness, and impressing a healthful sense of shame upon guilt by their very presence? Why should marriage alone have its duties among the daughters of the great, and the single estate be condemned

to an unwilling listlessness, or left to seek, undirected and unauthorized and unsanctified, ways of usefulness of its own ?"

Yet we regard penitentiary work rather as the *occasio* than *causa* of the Sisterhood. We have early traces as to Mr. Carter's mind about the Religious Life. "One deep calleth another"—the deep of sin and wickedness in penitentiary work—to the height of holiness and religious bliss. The vision of a higher dedication was not only as an instrument for creating and calling forth "shame upon guilt," but as a higher service to God. He had before him a vision of a life of holiness, apart from the distractions of the world and the ordinary conditions of human existence; a life caring "for the things of the Lord," "holy both in body and spirit." Thus, in the forefront of the Constitutions of the Community of St. John Baptist, stands the Warden's conception of what a Sister's life should be—

"The Community of St. John Baptist is instituted for the promotion of the honour and worship due to Almighty God: for the cultivation of the counsels and graces which He has taught as the way of perfection, and for active service, both in spiritual and corporal works of mercy. The Sisters voluntarily offer themselves to Almighty God, that through the sacramental power of a life thus dedicated to Him in poverty, charity, and obedience, they may in lowliness, detachment, and hiddenness of heart, cherish Christ in themselves, and reveal Him to others, after the example of St. John Baptist, that He in them may increase, while the 'self-life' decreases, ever seeking to bear witness to the true Light, even 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.'"

Thus a motto of the Community is, "Illum oportet crescere, me autem minui."

Any one who has read Mr. Carter's "Life of Bishop Armstrong" will remember how in those pages there is a sort of dim foreshadowing of what came actually into existence at Clewer—"Warden, Sub-warden, Sisters, Statutes, visitatorial power of Bishop of the Diocese, etc." In later

days Canon Carter published a series of addresses which had been delivered before the Sisters in the Chapel of the Institution, in which he clearly set forth what was in his mind as to a Sister's vocation. The book is entitled "Spiritual Instructions on the Religious Life." In the preface of the book he is careful to explain that the technical expression, "Religious Life," does not necessarily imply superiority of religiousness, but "a life of rule and devotion, unlike that of ordinary social life, founded wholly on religion, and directed wholly to religious ends." Among the sixteen addresses will be found "The Principles of the Religious Life," "The Sealing," "The Inner Spirit," the Laws of "Obedience," "Purity," "Chastity," "The Virgin State," etc. The author is careful to tell his readers what not to expect in this volume, viz. that he does not treat the subject "scientifically," or "under a strict theological aspect." He was no student of the Schoolmen, nor did he concern himself with subtle distinctions or too finely drawn definitions; but he would be master of devotional and practical considerations, and impart to his teaching touches of spiritual power and beauty, uplifting and entrancing those whose hearts were prepared to receive his teaching.

We remember Mr. Carter at the Church Congress at Stoke-on-Trent in 1875, when, speaking on "Woman's work in the service of the Church," he gave a full definition of "what a Sisterhood is." He said—

"A Sisterhood, as distinguished from other kinds of associated communities of women, implies a vocation to live and work wholly and undividedly for God, as a permanent state; an aptitude for devotion and useful service; a religious rule; fellowship in prayer and work, binding all together; a gradation of offices with recognized authority; rights and customs carefully guarded; and a systematic way of adapting the capacities and dispositions of the different members of the Community to the necessities of the work undertaken. The organization becomes complete when through the Bishop's sanction the seal of the blessing of the Church is set upon it."

It will be observed in this very clear and detailed description of the religious vocation and religious work that Mr. Carter's idea in founding a Sisterhood, whilst training the Sisters in the pathway of holiness, was also that the best Christian work may be done by them for the sinful, suffering, necessitous.

"Sisterhood work, therefore, realizes the highest idea of Christian work, for it is founded on self-sacrifice, and sacrifice is the noblest principle of work. It is also dependable and constant, because a Sister's service is a lifelong dedication to God, and as love to her Lord induces a woman to become a Sister, her work is thoroughly animated by love, and love gives to Christian work its overmastering power and attractive influence."

Mr. Carter united with his great devotional power a very practical turn of mind, and kept a practical aim before him in the revival of the Religious Life. It has often been said that there was a difference between him and Dr. Pusey in this respect. We cannot say how far this was true, but we do know from his own lips that he had no intention of forming an enclosed or contemplative order, when an idea of this kind was at one time suggested as a development within the Sisterhood. It may be explained that there are differences amongst religious orders, and these as regards both *means* and *ends*. Mr. Carter wished to revive in the English Church the "common" or "social" life. He did not aim at establishing a contemplative order, but a life partly contemplative and partly active—what the French call *vie mixte*—a blending of the elements of Mary and Martha. Such a life, one full of external works of mercy and the like, and not entirely shut off from intercourse with relations and the outer world though a considerable time daily to be devoted to prayer—offices, meditation, intercession, and the like—is still described as an active life. It was not Mr. Carter's way to turn to foreign ideals either in quest of technical distinctions or for models in forming a rule. Without being at all insular, he greatly appreciated English character and English ideas, and

desired that these should be retained and transformed by grace, as a solid and sterling raw material capable of true spiritual greatness. He was not attracted by things or practices simply because they were foreign, but rejoiced in the development of the latent capacities of his own Communion. We know from his habits and from his library that foreign books of devotion and theology were not much studied by him. But he had great admiration and reverence for the Saints, in whatever district of the Church they were produced.

In the early history of the Clewer Community the question of vows was one which very much occupied Mr. Carter's attention; and also that of parental permission. The following letters written to an old personal friend, and the oldest surviving member of the Council, showed Mr. Carter's mind in 1863 in regard to vows, and exhibit what has always seemed to be a marked feature of his character:—

"*January* 2, 1863.

"MY DEAR H——,

"I will write without reserve on this, as I could on any subject to you; and you are quite free to make any use you like of my reply to this question. The rule which says no vow or engagement is to be understood by the service which confirms a Sister, but only an obligation of obedience while in the Sisterhood, is read out to the Sisters once a week, and the service itself is also clear on the same point. If, then, as is alleged against us, we impress on the Sisters the idea of 'a vow, or insert dedication,' we should be ourselves liars, and make all the Sisters liars, and place ourselves and them in this enviable position weekly. There is, indeed, *bonâ fide* no such thing done, or attempted to be done. But I will tell you what may not unnaturally have given rise to such an imputation.

"It has always been the feeling of the Sisters that their purpose and conviction is a lifelong dedication of themselves. I never knew any one during the last ten or twelve years apply to be admitted who did not view what she believed to be her calling of God in this light. We have no need to teach it, if we desired to do so. They assume it as a preliminary; that if thought worthy to be a Sister at all, it must be for life. They have taught it me, not I them. The idea

of going back and returning to the world, marrying, etc., is thought an impossibility by every one of them.

"No case has arisen of such thinking otherwise. If it should arise, I feel that the mind of the Sisters is such that they would not vote for one who was thus, as they would think, half-hearted. The idea of being a Sister for a time, and then going away to be as though she had never been a Sister, is foreign to the animus of the whole body, and to the view of a Sisterly mind, as it is understood.

"But, then, observe this. It is equally strongly felt by the Sisters, and is taught both by the Superior and myself, that if any real call of distress should arise in the Sister's home, a real gap which none but herself can fill, and the matter becomes a real call of duty, that then the Sister is bound to leave the Sisterhood and go home. She would, however, still regard herself as a Sister, and be doing a Sister's work, and leading a Sister's life, in her home as before in the Sisterhood. She would not only be free to go, but would be felt right in going under such circumstances. Observe the true view of their dedication of themselves to a devoted life, as God may call them: *in the Sisterhood*, if no more constraining call arise; to return and serve God *at home*, if such a call should come. The question of going under such circumstances is left to the Sister's own conscience. So far from anything being done or said to fetter or overrule her conscience on such a point, we should all, as I say, encourage her to follow it. If this answer does not satisfy your question, will you let me hear again?

"You may have heard of what I urged at the Oxford Congress about the permanence of a Sister's dedication. I meant what I have here said. I was charged with wishing for vows. I do not so wish or think it practicable, and doubt of its expedience if practicable, vows, *i.e.*, as binding to a community and made the security of permanency, but I meant simply that the *animus* of a Sister, as I understand St. Paul to say, is for good and all.

"Your ever affectionate

"T. T. C."

It was at this time the shadow of a great sorrow fell upon the founder of "Clewer" by the death of his mother, "preserved far beyond 'the days of our age' with undiminished faculties and the untiring solicitude of early love." To this

his friend alluded in his reply to the above letter, and Mr. Carter rejoined—

"*Clewer Rectory, January* 19, 1863.

"My dear H——,

"Thank you for your kind words. It has been the first great loss I ever knew, but after so long a period of such blessing as I (we) have had with my dearest mother so near at hand, the thankfulness of what has been given exceeds. My father is comfortably cheerful. I am afraid I complicated matters by speaking of the vote. My thought in doing so was to show that the question rested with the Sisters themselves, and depended on their own mind, the power in their own hands. But I do not see the difficulty which appears to you. Granted that the Sisters have such an animus, their vote would of course follow their animus. They would only vote for one who comes up, as they suppose, to their standard. But their voting for one, because they have such a view of the Sister's life, does not bind the one they vote for.

"But I do not see how this voting sets aside the Statute, etc. The stated Rule leaves them free to depart if their mind ever change. All that we have to guard against is the possibility of a Sister being constrained to stay by any outward bond pressing on her when her own conscience leads her to go. This is the evil of a vow, that it is a bond beyond the conscience, which remains after the mind has changed, which is then a shackle hindering free action. There is nothing of this. Should any Sister at any time feel called by some more constraining duty, or change her mind as to the life, she is able fully to depart.

"It appears to me that we have now just what is most desired, an *animus* to remain devoted, and likely to be a permanent *animus;* and at the same time full power to go, if ever the *animus* in any case changes; and though, if a Sister left for a light cause, she would go under the reproach of the others; if she went for a real, advisable cause, she would go with the consentient feeling of the others. We should not wish our Sisters to be an unsettled body, though, on the other side, we should not wish to see it a fettered and enslaved body. The matter so seems to me. I should like to know what your further thoughts may be.

"Ever your affectionate

"T. T. C."

Our bishop knows exactly how our Sisters feel and think, and sees no incongruity between it and the rules.

We have the following letter of further explanation on this subject :—

"*Eton College.*

"My dear H——,

"You mistake my meaning when I said, 'They have taught me, not I them.' I meant the same as if one said, 'A medical man is taught by his patients.' He gains by studying medicine in hospitals on living subjects what he would never learn of his own mind or from books. In the same way, led as I was to be concerned in Sisterhoods, I have learnt what I know by bringing the best judgment I could form in experience of the actual lives of Sisters, learning the practice of Sisters' life by work among Sisters, as the medical man among patients.

"This explanation may answer your question, 'Whether they would instil the same view of a Sister's life on the Probationers.' There is, indeed, no such attempt made, no such teaching. It is simply that Probationers come with a similar view of giving themselves to the life as their life, if they are found useful, etc. They come without any idea of anything than remaining, as I said, unless some home call should require them.

"The difficulty you feel is 'of one rejected because her *animus* does not come up to that of the election.' Such a case has never arisen. Persons who can only be free to help for a time are welcomed, but they do not ask to be Sisters. I do not suppose the case you put ever can arise. It is not, in the case of a club which makes an additional private restriction beyond the rules,—it is not that the Sisters make this new private rule, but that in this and all like Houses, those who come, come with the same mind that those have who are here. They do not, I think, set aside the rule which says they are free, but only view this freedom as intended to enable them to leave if some call of superior duty come. I shall be glad if any explanation I can give may clear away doubts in one so generously true as you have been.

"Ever your affectionate

"T. T. C."

In these letters we can trace ideas which have made

"Clewer" to be what it is; the idea of an absolute, entire, abiding self-oblation to the service of God from the first possessed Mr. Carter's mind; to become a Sister needed a distinct vocation, a call to the virgin-life. The essence of a vowed life was clearly grasped by him; but, as may be seen from the above correspondence, the external act of taking a vow at a particular time and place was a gradual attainment.

"The question of vows has been a most anxious one. They have always, almost from the very commencement of Religious Communities, been identified with them. They may be periodical or lifelong, renewable or permanent. In either case, the principle is much the same as to their obligations, while they last. The Clewer Community began without vows, but under the idea of the life itself implying a permanent dedication. Bishop Wilberforce was strong against vows. His ground was that he could not dispense them."

This, we believe, was a mistake, at least so far as "simple" vows were concerned. Other bishops entertained the same notion of inability to give release. A lady, not a Sister, who had taken a vow, and years after wanted to be married to a Church dignitary, sought, through the intervention of a priest, to get a dispensation. He tried three bishops; the two first not only declared that they had no power in the matter, but found serious fault with the priest for advising the lady to take such a vow, which, as he had nothing to do with her taking it, was not pertinent; the third gave a sort of dispensation, nervously guarded, and—they were married. When the "Clewer Rule was formed, the bishop insisted on its being inserted in the forefront that the Community was formed without vows. It was not long before Sisters came who desired to take vows, in the consciousness that they would be a support to their life and a true expression of a religious vocation. As soon as these cases occurred, the bishop was consulted." This was the principle upon which the Community of St. John Baptist acted in everything. Mr. Carter was accustomed from the

beginning to be entirely open with him. Mr. Carter said, "I see no reason to refuse them," and "the bishop left me free to do as I thought well." But to the end of the connection of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce with the Community as the "Visitor," he would never allow the slightest change in the provisions of the Rule, but would have it framed as at the first. "The consequences were very trying. The Sisters for years had to hear their Rule read with this disclaimer of what many, gradually all, were doing. Questions were continually being asked how to reconcile with their Rule the Sisters' action." Mr. Carter's reply will have already been seen in the above letters. He used to say, "while it was true that the Community was formed quite independently of vows, that they were not required as a Rule, that these were not thought of when the Community was formed; yet that 'use and wont' were stronger than rule, and that they were now commonly taken as matter of free allowance, when desired, and that they were generally desired, and that the bishop knew of it, and left the matter thus free." It was most unsatisfactory, but it seemed the best that could be done under the very awkward circumstances. Bishop Mackarness, who succeeded the first Visitor, was a man of very different mind, straight and simple as a man could be—"honest John" as he had been called from boyhood—not adorned with the splendid gifts of his predecessor, but fairer and simpler all round in practical matters, less prejudiced, and more open to reasonable considerations, and bolder when he saw his way clearly. He was very particular as to the age when vows were taken, but he recognized the claim. And when some circumstances arose which brought the matter before him in its personal bearing, he let the Rule be altered, only requiring that express words should be used which implied that Sisters freely and voluntarily offered themselves, as, indeed, they always had done. There has been progress in this as in all other matters. Bishop Mackarness's successor, Bishop Stubbs, allowed it to be inserted in the Rule the fact that vows *are* taken. Practically

no difference of feeling has arisen in consequence of this difference of rule. From the first a Sister's profession was held to be lifelong, and vows are but the utterance of such an intention. Mr. Carter felt the inconsistency between the Rule and the practice; but his gaze was so fixed on the essential and interior oblation of the life to God, that we venture to say that the absence of any verbal or written contract would not be so great a trouble to him as to many. Technical or scientific divinity, we repeat, would hardly be an attractive study to him; he would seize the *essence*. The life is consecrated "by means of a promise which is made to God." The view of the life in relation to the Community or Order, and the necessity of covenant or contract, "as between man and man," would, we imagine, enter very little into his thoughts. It would be with him, "Solus cum solo."

Two of Canon Carter's writings bring out very clearly his convictions about the Religious Life, written some fifteen or eighteen years later in his life. We refer first to a pamphlet entitled, "Are Vows of Celibacy in Early Life inconsistent with the Word of God?"[1] The Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Wordsworth, had laid down the remarkable limit that no one under sixty years of age should be allowed to take a vow of celibacy; that is to say, at an age when there would be little life left to dedicate to God, and when a vow of celibacy would be hardly needed at all. Mr. Carter, not content with demolishing the bishop's interpretation of 1 Tim. v. 9, by pointing out that the "primary object in the enrolment of widows was eleemosynary," not a question so much of dedication as of becoming an almswoman—the view, as Mr. Carter remarks, taken by such an unprejudiced authority in this matter as *Smith's Dictionary*—the Warden of Clewer fills twenty-four pages with setting forth clearly what the Holy Scriptures teach about vows, particularly in St. Matt. xix. and 1

[1] 1878. It must be admitted that some advance is traceable in Mr. Carter's own mind as to formal vows.—ED.

Cor. vii. He points to our Lord's virgin life and that of His Mother as stimulating examples, and adds, "The virgin life is not instituted, indeed, like marriage, as a law of nature, to be sanctified by grace; but it is announced as a special gift of grace, to be impressed upon nature, in those who are able to receive it."

Mr. Carter, in argument, has a way of cutting off a retreat from his antagonist. He does this here. "It is important for the argument to make clear that when the Apostle speaks of the virgin state being 'good for the present distress,' this expression, according to the most approved interpretation, is not to be understood as limited to any temporary troubled condition of society." Mr. Carter quotes St. Augustine as putting quite a different light upon the passage, and to him may be added St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Anselm; still the words are rather obscure.

The other published source from which may be gathered Mr. Carter's mind on the Religious Life is a volume to which we have already referred, with that title which was brought out in 1879. Yet, although it runs into one hundred and sixty-seven pages, it hardly gives so much definite information as the pamphlet which we have just quoted. "The Religious Life" is a work which consists of a series of addresses delivered to the Sisters. They are in the style of meditations, full of beauty, a portrait of what a Sister's life ought to be. In these addresses a high strain of devotional thoughts and affections is maintained. Perhaps a secular mind passing judgment upon the book, would say with Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, "Mr. Carter is much *upstairs*." His meditations, to use plain terms, often ran up into contemplation. Thus he is speaking of religious growth—

"Keep the Blessed Vision of your Lord steadily before your eyes. While you gaze on this Vision as the standard and pattern of your inward life, you cannot but be faithful. Cherish earnestly, therefore, this inward grace of contemplation of the Sacred Form into which your life is to be moulded. And this not merely at stated times of meditation,

when you have gone apart from outward things, and ordinary claims upon your attention are suspended; but as a habit, feeding upon it, thinking, speaking, acting in the power of the contemplation till it becomes a second nature, for the soul, however busily employed, may be ever looking at Jesus, ever listening to Him, ever joyous in embracing the impressions through which, whether consciously or not, the growing Likeness is being ingrained into the substance of the soul, whilst yet its plastic activities are going forth in appointed duties."

With a wondrous power Canon Carter could scale the heights of spiritual life and attainments, and, on the other hand, explore the depths of sin and wretchedness. The following letters were written to those who were already Sisters or about to embrace the Religious Life.

The following prayer was written for a young lady who had drawings towards the Religious Life, and subsequently became a Sister of Mercy. It was composed in the year 1858:—

"Eternal Lord, I bow myself before Thee. I adore Thee within my inmost soul, Thee the source of my life: the Beginning of my being and its End. Though I see Thee not, feel Thee not, I believe that Thou art more truly present to me than any of those outward things which I behold.

"Thou hast called me, O my Lord, and in my inmost soul I recognize Thy Voice. What I now feel within me, drawing me to more entire devotion, I believe to be of Thee. I accept it, O my God; I embrace it with my affections, with adoring, thankful love. O Lord, in mercy Thou hast shown to me the vision of a joy beyond all earthly joy, a sweetness that this world can never give, a love that will draw me into inner depths more than any human love I ever knew, a union inconceivable, unchangeable, ever increasing, ever absorbing, filling all the desires of my mysterious being.

"Lord, I come to Thee, and I would be wholly Thine. I would offer to Thee a pure, an entire offering. I would strip myself of all that I must surrender. Oh for a heart willing in the day of Thy power, a heart to embrace a Divine life, to live on pure, unearthly love. Oh! Thou Who hast drawn me so that I venture to look up to Thee, to be the very husband

of my soul. I would give my all, as Thou hast given Thy all to me. Accept me thus desiring to come unto Thee. Lord, Thou knowest what will come on me, what I shall feel, what I shall shrink from, how I shall fear and shrink and doubt. But Thou knowest all my weakness, and in weakness Thou hast called me. The future I commit to Thee, and cast the burden of my coming trial wholly on Thee. Give me perfect trust. Give me rest in Thy Almighty care, Thy unchanging love.

"O Lord, I need of Thee singleness of heart. Many cares and doubts, and fears and wishes, have long distracted me. I have been tossed to and fro, drawn hither and thither. Thou knowest, Lord. Thou canst pity. If Thou wilt give me peace, my soul shall bless Thee: but with the utmost fervour I implore of Thee a singleness of purpose, a simplicity of mind, a trustful heart of love.

"To Thee, O Lord, I commit myself, and all the thoughts and feelings that throng within me. Do Thou as Thou wilt, and when Thou wilt: justify in the eyes of others the purpose of Thy handmaid, only keep me within the light of Thy Presence, and shed around me the shadowing of the glory which is to be revealed. Draw me onward, fix me, bind me, enthrall me with all that is pure and lovely, and saintly and Divine. I would be no longer myself; but even as Thou wilt have me be. I resolve, O my God, to seek this blessedness, that I may think and speak, and act and endure, as Thou wouldest have me. Direct, move, animate, uphold every movement of mind and spirit, of heart and understanding in this perfect union, and give me grace to persevere in this resolve, for Thy goodness and tender mercies' sake, O my Lord, my God. Amen.

"My Lord, Thou hast called me, hast drawn me to Thyself, to Thy inmost heart, for Thee to rest in me, and I to rest in Thee; and Thou wouldest have a oneness of sympathy, a closest union of thought and aim, and love, and desire, and resolve, and this must be, O my Lord, my God, my loved One, to make this union true and real and living. Therefore drawn by Thee, and by my own longings, I do yield my whole self and lose myself in Thee, and embrace as I am embraced, and would melt into Thee as Thou into me, to be, O God, a perfect oneness.

"And I desire this, O God, to ask of Thee, as Thy gift of love, Thy mercy to my soul, and I resolve by Thy grace to give myself entirely to Thee, to be Thine only, for ever. Amen.

"Eternal and most Blessed God, my own God, Who hast sealed me for Thy own, and bound me, unworthy, to Thyself, by Thy own will, by Thy love, by signs and Sacraments, and the cross upon my brow, and all Thy inspirations of love within me, drawing me, and by ever-renewed callings and my own renewed self-dedications which were Thy merciful inclinings of my will and heart to Thee, my Joy, my Happiness, my Life. Hear me now when I pray, for to Thee in this continued and repeated act, in union with the offering of Thy Adorable Son, my Lord, I offer myself, I devote myself as one already Thine own, devoted and consecrated by Thine own adorable mercy, and Thy choice of me, worthless, unspeakably unworthy of the least of all Thy mercies as I am, and ever must be in myself, unless Thou in me make me acceptable to Thee.

"And in thus beseeching Thee to accept me, O Lord my God, I earnestly pray of Thee to shed on me ever-renewed grace, that I may be holy in body and soul, and thus acceptable. Give me to feel the awfulness and mystery of thus offering myself more and more, and the solemn call which is upon me for increased sanctity, heavenly mindedness, meekness, obedience, submission of will, patience, faith, love, and all supernatural, unearthly gifts. Give me as Thou hast given the desire for them, give me these gifts, endue, consecrate me with these graces.

"And as I am unworthy, after so many years of wandering, and vanity, and self-seeking, and wavering, now to seek Thee and Thee only, to be fixedly and purely Thine, give me grace to wait in patience, while Thy Holy Spirit purifies me more and more, to be the meek sacrifice that I desire to be, to be duly consecrated to my Lord in soul and body. Give me a firm, calm patience to wait as the betrothed waiteth, and hath long patience for the object of her love, and to whom the waiting is joy and sweetness in the assurance of the love of the Beloved, and the certainty that He knoweth the heart's love: so give me grace to rest in Him Whom my soul adoreth and loveth. Help me to bear meekly for Him all delays, all opposition, all lack of sympathy, all coldness, all hardness, all doubts and suspicions, meekly, holily, unrepiningly, that I may be worthier of His love, more like Him Whom I would love better than all else—better than myself, with a pure, most sacred union of love, and not to count the time of waiting long.

"Give me grace for His sake to do my duty to all around

me, ungrudgingly, that my Lord may be pleased with me and love me more. Give me grace to leave nothing undone, and to be ever ready in daily self-sacrifice, ever to offer myself, doing to others as Thou wouldest have me to do, as unto Thee.

"And, O my God, my Life, my gracious Father, my Redeemer, Thou, Holy Spirit, my Everlasting Comforter, through Whom my Lord is present to me and dwelleth in me, and I am one with Him in Thee, Blessed Trinity, keep my inward life as Thy own sacred treasure. Watch over and in me. Make me watchful, earnest, unceasing in my struggle against sin, cherish in me every true and holy thought, and preserve me from falling for the merits of Jesus Christ. Amen."

To a Lady rather Impatient about Delay.

"*Clewer Rectory, May* 28, 1856.

"MY DEAR ——,

"I have been sorry to have delayed so long writing to you about yourself. I have been concerned to see how much you have been under the influence of wrong feelings. Your position is a very trying one, and I had hoped that what had passed before your return home would have had a different effect. It may be brought to pass what you long for, in ways that you cannot now see. While you treasure the longing which God has given you, you must wait His time. As He Who stirred your soul to seek is the same Who alone can open the way. You want, I think, this trust, very greatly, and you must earnestly seek it. The evident feeling that you are afraid to resign yourself to circumstances and appear at peace, lest it should lessen your hopes of leaving home, is a false feeling; it can make no difference, for it must come from God to turn the heart of your father, etc., and to open the way. It is sin; and therefore, whatever the consequence, must not be allowed.

"I think you must dismiss from your mind the thought that you can be a Sister as yet. Feel only the hope for the present that you will be allowed to come here again for a visit, and ask it when you think it would be convenient, limiting your hope to that for the present. And do not think of more, or desire to talk about (Clewer) to your papa. Keep that within your own bosom, and offer it to

God. You can speak freely to others of your own kin, and he would hear of it from them.

"Be very cautious of observing your resolutions on Sunday. It is an exercise of patience which God will accept to hear preaching on anything, in the manner of His priests, which may yet jar and pain. View it as an exercise of patience, and only be anxious to obtain all that you can of God through the Service. You should not have kept away from the personal regard you spoke of.

"You need not confess all the details again. You will remember sufficiently the general line and habitual faults, the prominent features. That only will be needful.

"Cannot you set yourself some home work? *E.g.* can you translate anything? I must close now.

"Ever your affectionate father,

"T. T. C.

"Sister Ellen came home yesterday."

A Form of Self-oblation on the Day of Profession.

"I do here, in the Presence of God, accept the call which has this day been called upon my soul in all its fulness,—to live in the new bonds of spiritual union with my Lord, my Life, my Joy, seeing Him in and above all, separate from the world, to live and serve those who are dearest to me in the flesh, only as one dedicated and set apart to a higher love and service. To this, praying for grace to overcome all my natural weakness, I give myself with all my heart, desiring through the love of my Lord, that this may be a whole and undivided offering of myself, and beseeching Him to sustain me in this mind in all purity and simplicity, and in conformity with His Blessed Will; even as my Lord, the King and Lord of Saints and Virgins, has given me an example in His perfect life, through His merits and mediation. Amen."

The Possible Need of Sharpness.

"My dear ——,

"On this point there is really little to say. The only definite ground of difference is the idea that you are too lenient, and that the discipline is not strong enough. I cannot tell how this is. But indirectly I gathered the same impression from another. I suppose a certain want of sharpness (in a good sense of the word, if it is allowable) would

be likely to be one of your infirmities. No doubt a quick, ready, decided, authoritative discipline is needed with children, though, of course, with all loving-kindness. God bless you always. Think dispassionately and carefully on this point. May God specially give you the truest happiness of His new grace."

Two Resolutions suggested at the Close of a Retreat.

"I resolve with the help of God these two things: (1) to live more in recollection of my union with God, with the view of overcoming mere personal or natural feelings that hinder me; (2) to check wanderings in prayers and meditation more quickly, to make more devotion, more true to God."

"*Whitby, September* 8.

"MY DEAREST ——,

"I hope you are inwardly in peace, and can commit all trials to God, and commit the future to Him all trustfully. I am sorry to hear —— is still so disturbed. I shall be anxious to do all I can to quiet her. She has a deep life underneath. There is a fancifulness in —— in these strange kinds of dreamings; she wants the quiet ballast. We go back by Greta Bridge and Helmsley. The mother is here; she is very weakly.

"God bless you,

"T. T. C.

"*Clewer, August* 17, 1876.

"MY DEAR ——,

"It is not that you are not much in my heart that I have not written. But there is much pressure. I trust your way is being smoothed, and that you feel a good angel, or One better than an angel is helping you on, and opening the future. The more you trust, the more it will be; and do not look on anxiously, 'one step enough for me,' and in very truthfulness cleave on to duty's call and the all-absorbing demand of Divine Love, and you will, dearest child, find peace.

"I have heard from your brother about his child, and I have written to him, and to her, and to the mother about it. I have begged Mr. —— to bear in mind her profession, so as not to press overmuch for her staying away. I am afraid of things drifting on, so that her religious life should be

endangered. Your work with the dear children will be well cared for, with every child, by those whom you have loved and trained for it. Tell dear —— her Altar is cared for as she would wish, and her traditions kept. God will give you all needful strength.

"Ever yours,
"T. T. C."

"*Clewer Rectory, Windsor, December* 20, 1876.

"My dear ——,

"I would that I could see you before Christmas —the only year since we met that this has failed, save when God took one away for a time; now He has taken you. But I hope to go and see you before long. You will keep on trustfully, will you not? living from day to day, enough to see the steps onward as they open—the one thought of giving glory to God as you seek to bring all things under you into more and more accordance with His purposes, and knowing the instruments cannot but be imperfect, and to be borne with by you as they are by Him, and feeling each thing gained to be cause for thankfulness, and each thing left imperfect a cause for prayer; and believing that He can work for Himself under things which are yet very imperfect and faulty.

"May you have a bright and blessed Christmas, and all with you, and especially ——. They tell me God has given you increased strength, and that you can do more. This is a blessing. May He give you a yet greater one in renewing your Profession, advancing you in maturity in His love and His work for souls, and for perfecting His elect—yourself to be perfected that you may lead others.

"What will become of poor ——? I hope all was done that could be done to draw her back. We must pray for her to be led rightly.

"T. T. C."

"*February* 16, 1877.

"My dear ——,

"I have heard of your trials; but how, without trials, could there be any chastening or any drawing out of the higher principles and powers of the better life, and how give glory to God, and how gain further grace? And you have been blessed, dearest child, through these trials, I am sure, and by the grace of God have been enabled to rise

above them. I am hoping to see you in the course of Lent, and all the Sisters.

"Ever yours,

"T. T. C."

"*Easter Eve*, 1877.

"MY DEAR ——,

"All truest blessings be with you and the Sisters with you. I earnestly trust you may know the outward as well as the inward brightness. There is no more happy time, and you may live in the joy of it. Dear —— came back to be at home this evening after three months' absence.

"Yours,

"T. T. C."

"*Whit Monday*, 1877.

"MY DEAR ——,

"I am sorry if my letter tried you. I think she settled right at last. She hardly realized the circumstances. . . . That was a sad outbreak. But do not dwell on it. Such things are to keep us humble, if possible. Yes, God leaves certain infirmities, faults even, in the good; and this good Sister may have suffered sore and long for her giving way. I fear some of those mixed results of body and spirit acting on each other are more trying than we are at all aware of. Good dear Dr. ——, one feels his difficulties in the questions which must arise for one in his responsible position, and I honour him for his simple truth. It is a troublous time, but I do not see that the Judgment can ever be accepted by the Church, but must some day be reversed by the action of the Church.

"He need have had at least no such scruples in our chapels, to which the new methods of law do not apply.

"Ever yours, etc.,

"T. T. C."

"*Ventnor.*

"MY DEAR ——,

"I remain here till the Retreat. It is very quiet and pretty, and delightful walks—flowers and shrubs most flourishing, and the colours are beautiful. You have heard of our sorrow; dear —— suddenly apprised that she has cancer. I went to see her on Monday. It will be a very

grievous cloud of distress, happily not now much pain, and the hope that there may not be much. What a mysterious increase there is in this terrible calamity! I went the other day to Manchester to see ——, who is sinking under it, having had two operations, and another not possible.

"I am so glad, my dear ——, that your present home looks brighter to you. My heart has been with yours in feeling the trial, and have shrank from it for you. I sought to look at it all round, and there seemed no way to doubt but that it was the Will of God, and a sphere in which you had so many qualifications for glorifying Him in it, that though feeling tried about it, still I am at rest in the thought that you will be blessed in your service there; it is a very momentous one, and you will yourself advance in strength, I feel sure, and be at last able to say that it has been good to have been there. Do not scruple to be firm, and have confidence in what God shows you. You need not fear, acting lovingly and kindly; for God has surely given you this grace, and speaking the truth in love, you will persuade and win others to God, and by love rule hearts.

"Your loving

"T. T. C."

"*Bakewell.*

"MY DEAR ——,

"I felt it would be a trial—so much that is different and uncongenial. But you will feel the good afterwards. It is a blessing to have the opportunity of this endurance, bracing up the will, etc. It is the fulfilment of many a wish of your own, which can only be carried out through outward changes. It is the inward life maintaining itself, and holding on through these changes that secure progress, elevation, and power, and closer union. Better go to —— after three weeks. I mean not to let a month pass without confession when within your reach. Go quite simply, not mentioning more than definite facts and wrong feelings that lasted any time. We came here yesterday, and stay a week with the B.'s. Very pretty and quiet in a varied valley, half up the side of the hill. Haddon Hall is in the distance down the valley. My plan is to go to Whitby and stay there. May God give you peace and put away all evil and special faults. Try especially to put away despondency and impatience, and guard forbearance and humility, and feel, 'I am among you as one that serveth.' 'The Son of Man came

not to be ministered unto, but to minister and give His life a ransom for many.'

"His blessings be with you,

"T. T. C."

A Meditation on the words, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast, etc."

"The infinite distance between God and the redeemed creature struggling to rise and return to Him: God alone desiring this his return; yearning after him; stretching forth to win him; preparing an innermost place of Bliss and Peace for him in His own Bosom.

"The soul responds to the blessed call and seeks to rise. Along the infinite interval separating her from God, the soul begins to move upwards: she fulfils natural duties, follows the first pure instincts of nature, feels the joy of conforming to the earliest laws of her life without fear and shame and constraint, or consciousness of sin—a blessed childhood, free, unburdened, full of hope; life advances; other duties responsibilities, calls of service, arise. The commandments of God become more constraining; their depth, their breadth, open before the eyes. Temptations come; evil stirs within: passion becomes strong; and many thoughts and desires pass to and fro through the soul. It is a time of struggle, and fear, and weakness, and falling . . . the grace of God prevails; His inward voice is secretly heard; the beauty of the law of love, of purity, and obedience, is perceived more and more. The soul strives; she seeks to follow each path of duty as it opens. There have been marrings and imperfections and fallings, but more and more the soul has risen towards her God.

"'All these things have I kept from my youth up; what lack I yet?' An inner light dawns upon the soul's vision. A Form of Beauty unutterable appears; a Voice of power and constraining love is heard such as was never heard before; the melodies of heaven are faintly arising; a Face, a form of various loveliness, begin to come forth and fill the circles of light, one within the other. 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me.'

"Unspeakable desires are stirred within the soul, the springing up of fountains of hope out of depths unfathomable. Drawings from blessed creatures, thoughts, instincts of union with the Sacred Form—the express image of God, the Incarnate

One, felt pressing on the soul; an eternity of Bliss in perfect fulness of joy begins to be revealed.

"The soul sinks beneath the weight, fears arise, its weakness trembles at the cost, 'Sell all that thou hast, and take what I give;' 'cast the earthly treasure away, and the treasure of the heavenly thou shalt find.'

"O Lord! my Lord! my soul's life, the end of my being, the Beauty after which my soul longeth, the Everlasting Fulness, the only Rest, only satisfying of the soul, in Whom Alone all other love unites, all duty ends, all joy becomes imperishable, help me, counting the cost, to rise yet again, higher and higher, till I am perfect in thee.

"*Collect.*—O God, Who makest all things profitable to them that love Thee, grant to our hearts an invincible power of love, that the desires which have been conceived by Thine inspiration may not be changed by anything opposed to it, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

A Meditation.

"'I have somewhat against thee because thou hast left thy first love'—the love which was kindled in my soul when the first deep impression was received, when my soul chose Thee for its portion.

"Can such love decline? In the midst of trials and labour feelings are awakened, irritation produced; old faults revive under new forms, infirmities remaining, and then aroused into activity; love, a supernatural gift, then often is overborne, or it has not been cherished, and without cherishing it declines. Love sustains not its own flame; it needs to be fed and fostered. It is given to be tested and disciplined by use, and cherished by exercises of devotion and sacrifice and meditation.

"The Saints of Ephesus failed in this their first love; the love of their espousals had declined. Has mine declined? Has anything come between me and God, between me and my Lord, Who has wooed and won me, and to Whom I am bound for ever. 'I will come unto thee quickly and remove thy candlestick out of its place;' the soul's inward light removed, its place in the sanctuary lost.

"Does not St. Paul say the same: 'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And though

I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and though I have all faith, that I could remove mountains, I am nothing.' Must not the light of such a loveless life be soon extinguished? Is there, then, hope for such a soul? Is there a return? What does my God say to such? What to me who have thus failed?

"'Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do the first works.' Revive the fondness, the self-sacrifice, the delight, the perfect trust, the absence of all complaining, the fulness of satisfaction, the joy of service, the deep thanksgivings, when the soul first received the deep impression and confidence of His love.

"But He says, 'Do the first works.' Feelings may change, warmth of feeling may vary. God will give such sensations as He will. They come and go. He alone knows why. I trust all this to Him. I trust to Him that the sensible warmth and consolation of my love, and His love in me, may vary as He will—only that I repent and *do the first works*—the loving spirit, the self-surrender in thought, the ever-kindly word, the gentle act, the ever-kindly judgment, the ever-ready forbearance, the long-suffering tenderness, the patient bearing of all things, the quickness to help—this spirit, for my Lord's sake, to be all around me, especially those nearest, my own Sisters of the same Community; and this spirit embracing ever a higher object and responding to a higher love, and lost in more entrancing mysteries of blissful communion in my Lord Himself, the one true object of all purest love. And what is my Lord's recompense to me? 'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.' To him that overcometh the obstacle of love, the drawings of self which are contrary to love, the faults which have marred the first fervours of love—to this effort of repentance, patiently made, and faithfully persevered in, is the promise given.

"And what is the 'Tree of Life?' What but God Himself, giving out of His fulness to feed His creatures, perfect bliss, the life of sacraments now veiled, Himself hereafter unveiled, openly Face to face. What but love can feed on that 'Tree of Life,' for He is Love?

"*Lesson.*—To consider what the first warmth of early love would dictate, and to seek to do all its works more and more, and to remove all hindrances as soon as seen."

A Few Spiritual Directions (1855).

"Observe the 'Hours,' as nearly as possible the right time, or else any time during the interval before the next Hour. If unable to go and be alone and pray, make a pause, and say a short prayer commemorating the Hour.

"Accustom yourself to meditate on some grace for a few minutes in connection with each Hour, as, *e.g.*, at the Third Hour—Love; at the Sixth Hour—Patience; at the ninth—Perseverance. After a week, change them, and take other graces; as meekness, humility, forbearance, self-sacrifice.

"Make an hour every day for devotional reading; partly of the Bible, partly of some devotional book. Take two hours for instructive reading or writing. If possible, before 10.15. Before dinner make an act of self-devotion, and renewing your vows, and surveying the acts of the day, judging yourself. At night, write down shortly any faults of the day.

"Try to discipline yourself as to thoughts in the following respects: not dwelling on differences of opinion; forgetting past offences, those of others; not inwardly contesting your own opinions with theirs; never aiming at victory in discussion; remembering how you wish to be with any one, specially a parent or other near relative, in the hour of their death; remembering the sacredness of domestic duties, and affections, even passing and little acts of kindness; watching specially your motives—all acts before God depend on the motives; to rise to do, even for nearest relatives, what you do out of love to God, more than human affection.

"*Helps to conquer Wanderings in Prayer.*—To make efforts to recover in Service at each 'Gloria Patri' and 'Amen'; to cross one's self frequently and secretly when tending to wander; to call up before the mind the idea of 'One upon the Great White Throne,' immediately before you, at Whose feet you kneel.

"To call up the vision of angels and glorified saints in the act of adoration.

"To make a rule of remembering His Presence before kneeling.

"Every Friday to use for a quarter of an hour a book of self-examination, in order to help the conscience to discern between sins, and to take a larger view (of the depth and width of the Commandments), and of the sin to which one is liable, and the grace one needs.

"*Books to use.*—'Aids to Holy Living,' 'Steps to the Altar,' Burridge and Scudamore respectively."

In reply to a question whether the Sacraments might be received from a clergyman, who had secretly joined the Irvingites, Mr. Carter gave the following reply:—

"There is nothing to prevent you receiving in full assurances from his hands. The Irvingites do not at all question our Orders and Catholicity, as far as I know; and they have a very high sense of the Sacraments and of the Real Presence. Though their altars can have no Presence, apart as they are from the Church, but this does not affect this case of a clergyman believing their claims while he ministers among us. It is a very serious question, I should think, for himself, but does not affect those who receive Sacraments through him."

Mr. Carter adds in a postscript:—

"I had a long conversation yesterday with an 'Evangelist' of the Irvingites, and he told me that they recognize our bishops as having true Apostolical succession, and do not wish to interfere with them, but encourage clergymen, strangely enough, to remain and obey their bishops."

It may be observed that the words "apart as they are from the Church" are not intended to apply to those who were already priests, and became ministers amongst the Irvingites. In this connection we may record the fact that when a priest's child was dying, who was vicar of a parish and also an Irvingite, at his express wish Mr. Carter anointed the child in the presence of several clergymen and relatives, with a view to its restoration, following the teaching of St. James.

"*Clewer Rectory, September*, 1856.

"MY DEAR ——,

"I can hardly say what seems best as to your parents coming to Clewer. In general, I think, people who come here have their prejudices softened, if not removed. Generally also, what is unseen is more terrible than what is seen, and I should have felt that it would not have increased even if it did not tend to remove their prepossessions. But I

would advise you to *follow* what seems the natural guidance of Providence in the matter, not force it, but rather incline to their coming, if it fall in with their wishes and plans at all. If they come, I should have much interest in speaking to them, and would say anything I could, without forcing, to draw them towards it. I suppose I might imply that I knew your wishes. I think that you ought to feel that you have given yourself up to God, and wedded yourself solemnly in heart, as hearts can be bound to the love and service of your Lord undividedly, and that the cross you have received is the token and pledge of your vows and consecration. The thought makes me jealous of whatever might be the least break in the sanctity of your devotion and separateness from earth. That has passed over you, and has been accepted by you, which has changed the current of your life, and with it should have changed the whole tenor of your thoughts, aims, wishes, impulses. What you should try to feel is that all in the world is nothing, and that you in the midst of it are nothing, except an instrument in doing the will of God, moment by moment. I mean that you should feel that you have quitted everything in heart, and that you are then given back to it all, to do what is God's will in it as though you were indifferent to it, except so far as God gave it to you to do; that you should look at everything in this fresh light and take fresh interest in it, on this new account, because it is not home and relatives and friends any more, but the place of God's vocation for you, and the sphere of your work for Him; that you are happy to stay or happy to go, as He shows His will; indifferent otherwise, having a holy indifference in doing all, yet a hearty zeal and love in this, because it is His Will now. You would then be happy at home, because you would feel that it is your vocation; it would fill your heart in a new form, and you would feel that so viewing everything and acting, you are fulfilling the call which is now upon you. It is only in this feeling that you can rest; you cannot rest in mere home duties or social claims, or even in doing good of itself, for you have in you the consciousness of a call as yet unfulfilled, and this makes you restless and dissatisfied, and you will continue so, unless you separate yourself in heart, and realize your consecration of yourself, then give yourself back as a new creature to former duties, now become new calls. . . . Then you would be prepared to leave, if God opened the way, or you would still be His where you are, with an equally undivided heart. You will see by this where I think you are wrong. I think the wrong lies

very deep; it is the conflict of these deep feelings, and one must yield to the other before you can be at rest. You feel you cannot give yourself unreservedly to your home, while you have the consciousness of the call and vow which is on you; and yet you feel that must as yet be your portion. You must then reconcile these two conflicting feelings, and then you would be at rest. You must view home as the consecrated vocation of a consecrated life, ceasing to regard it merely as a home. I have spoken of your consecration—I mean as far as may be; that is, in will and heart, and as your own secret act before God; but in result, it might be as true to you as if outwardly sealed. God bless you.

"Ever yours,
"T. T. C."

"My dear ——,

"I would wish you to go on as quietly as possible, persevering as you have begun. Self-reflection is the thing that you need most to overcome, and simplicity of soul to obtain. You greatly need also recollection of spirit, and to seek to draw off your mind from dwelling so much on others —I mean the anxiety you have about their feelings toward yourself.

"Make those points special objects of prayer and watchfulness, and use earnest care to check what is thus besetting you. I think it would be blessed to you if you would say two of the penitential psalms every day on your knees, in special reference to those sins.

"But take courage and good hope, because I feel that God is drawing you on more and more. May God bless you.

"Your affectionate
"T. T. C."

A Rule, Christmas, 1857.

"1. Each morning offer yourself to God to live for the day only.[1]

"2. If you fail in this by indulging dreams for the future, say a portion of Ps. cxix. for each such failing before the evening.

"3. Entirely avoid arguing. This allows quietly to discuss

[1] In the sense—"Give us *this day* our daily bread."—Ed.

religious truth, but requires to stop at once if it turn to anything of arguing antagonistically.

"4. Stop talking whenever it turns to bringing forward self—watch specially for this.

"5. Pray each evening for rest in God simply and undividedly, accepting every single appointment of God for you, and say with this prayer Ps. cxxxi. Write each fortnight to say what failing in this rule has occurred."

"*Clewer Rectory, January* 29, 1858.

"My dearest ——,

"The great lesson I would have you learn now is that of interior mortification, in controlling, subduing, and correcting thoughts; and the end to gain, purity of intention, so as to put away whatever is of self, and suffer only what is simple and obedient to the law of love and truth, or whatever it be with which the thoughts are concerned. This exercise involves a good deal beyond itself in its effects on the inner life. I wish you could make that which I have mentioned the one main aim of your inner effort, and try to realize how much it involves in its branching, as it were, into all kinds of thoughts and feelings. You will be fitting yourself thus in the very best way you can for your future life.

"Make, as a second rule, the solemn resolve to be as much as possible compliant, yielding, self-sacrificing as to the least daily occurrence, wants, etc. In looking back on family life, what one is most thankful for is for every such yielding up of self and such kindness which gives the deepest satisfaction and rest, so far as family life goes; and what is family life, if justly viewed, but an image of the love which binds to God the communion of saints? Remember how much you may gain in God's favour, and it may be of future degree of glory, by exercising yourself, when privately occupied, in ruling and mortifying inward thoughts and bringing them into obedience to Christ's Blessed Will. And when with others, how much you may gain by acts of self-surrender and self-sacrifice in speaking and doing as the law of pure love dictates. I wish every day you would say the Lord's Prayer once with the special intention of offering yourself to your Lord in the utmost simplicity.

"Do you think the enclosed would at all help your sister (in sickness)? I would send her some more some day, or

shortly. I could send her some heads of prayer. God bless you.

"Ever yours,
"T. T. C."

"*Clewer Rectory, July* 31, 1858.

"MY DEAREST ——,

"It is good, and I am thankful that you should feel the solemn nature of the coming separation, and anticipate the tartness of it. There is no doubt that you will have to meet a searching trial. It would be far worse if you had not; if you could take such a step without feeling it deeply. To face it in something of its reality now will lighten the after trial. It will help you for the future, to sit down now and count the cost. This does not make it less God's Will for you, or less blessed, only natural ties, bound as yours are, cannot be loosened to loving hearts without sorely feeling the wrench; and to look to it in all its solemnity for yourself and for the others is a duty, and makes the step at once more religious, and more easily borne in its consequences.

"It is well to view the point of action irrespectively of the feelings, however keenly they may be felt. The question of acting is not to be one of feeling either way, but how the way of high service opens to one, and how it will appear in a day when the full light will shine; in His Countenance we shall read the motives which have swayed one. I think you do feel that all has been weighed and long weighed, so that it is the trial of feeling which remains as the most momentous to be met, and this not of your own feeling only, but of what you know it will cost others. It is what so often accompanies such acts. Happy is it for those who are spared it, if at least we are to count those happier who escape keen trials. It may be that, as the trials of each differ, coming in the way most wisely fitted for the perfect discipline of each, so for some such a form of trial is the most fitted to work a higher sanctity, and therefore suffered to come in a higher mercy than sparing them would be.

"My dearest child, may God sustain you and guide you in it will be now a frequent prayer, and through any trial it may cost you may be advanced to a higher inner life.

"There is but one view in which you can look to find support in passing through the coming change, and that is, the highest aspect of self-devotion out of pure love as things will appear to the illuminated eye in God's Presence, the

thought of simple union with God, and of the undivided claim He has on the soul when He inspires the thought and opens the way to its accomplishment, that all natural love and ties pass on to this diviner aim and give way to it, while yet the feelings remain true and fervent towards the old natural ties.

"One does not love them less, because one sacrifices them for what comes in the progress of life and the working out of one's destiny as the more absorbing call for action and service.

"I think it would help you if you would take for meditations now the course which was taken by the Apostles and the women who followed from Galilee; the callings at the sea of Galilee of the fishers; of St. Matthew; the inward feeling of St. James and St. John when they said, 'We are able to drink of the cup,' etc.; the drawings of the soul of Mary, sister of Martha, of Mary Magdalene, of Salome, of Anna in the temple before, of Mary the wife of Cleophas, etc. Mark the different points of their several histories. Mark, on the other hand, the loss sustained by those who drew back; of the souls who were not prepared to follow because the Son of Man 'had not where to lay His head'; of the rich man who went away very sorrowful, because he could not leave his riches. Take both sides, those who could and those who could not follow Him in the closer fellowship and more entire self-sacrifice. Consider the points on Saints which bring out the inner workings of feeling, the difference of character, the age, as of the little boy who had the few small fishes to give for the miracle to be worked. Mark the consequences of what seemed small acts and changes, but which must have involved in each great trial of feeling, and though Scripture speaks so sparingly, and, as it were, slightly of them. Dwell on each of these and think of the working of God, working out His Will in each, and notwithstanding the trials and the high effects that waited on each change or point that seemed so small. Do this as you have done some cases before, fully work them out in meditations, and let me know what you have chosen and what you have done. I will in a day or two send you a prayer for present use.

"I think you would do well to have confidential communication with your brother as much as possible. You will know what you can do, and how far you are able to help and influence your family and let them see, that in devoting yourself to God, it is not a selfish thing, but in hope to be

more a blessing to them all; and that any opening to be a blessing to any one at home would be your brightest joy, and that in putting aside natural loves in one sense, you are binding them around you more closely in another. God bless you.

"Your very affectionate
"T. T. C."

List of Letters, etc., in this Chapter.

Act of Self-dedication.
Ditto.
Ditto.
A Lady impatient of Delay.
A False Feeling.
Allowable Sharpness in Ruling.
On Trust.
Ditto.
A Forfeited Vocation.
On Trials.
A Meditation.
Ditto.
A Meditation.
Ditto.
Spiritual Directions.
Wanderings in Prayer.
Sacraments from Irvingites.
A Visit to Clewer.
How to wait at Home.
A Rule.
Interior Mortification.
The Pain of leaving Home.
Ditto.
Suggested Meditations.

The practical turn of mind in the Founder of the Clewer Community is manifested, in that, while he was setting forth a religious ideal and the spiritual "laws" of a lifelong dedication, he evidently was not forgetful of what the laws of the country might have to say upon the subject, and what would be the position of one who had taken a lifelong vow. He accordingly wrote to one of Her Majesty's judges upon the matter, and the following was Sir John Coleridge's reply:—

"*Dawlish, November* 9, 1862.

"My dear Mr. Carter,

"I was not here when your letter came; it followed me to Ottery, and I have been so much occupied since I received it that I have been unable to answer it. I am afraid now that, for want of books, and from a very imperfect memory, my answer to your question will not be worth much.

"I presume the question to be twofold—are the vows you speak of unlawful, *i.e.* do they subject to prosecution those who take or those who impose them; secondly, are they binding, *i.e.*

could they in law oblige the party who, having taken them, repents of the step, or would they have an answer to a writ of *habeas corpus*, where under them a person was restrained against her will; or supposing her to be *non sui juris*, but willing to abide by them, would they be an answer if the father or husband or any other guardian sued it out?

"As to the first, I am not aware that our statute law does, as our common law does not, certainly, recognize a power in any one to impose such an oath. For want of this authority, the oath would be in law merely *nul*. A *magistrate*, who is authorized to impose a judicial oath, is guilty now of a misdemeanour if he imposes an extra-judicial and voluntary oath. Such an oath might be supposed to be *something* when imposed by such an officer, but the breach of it was not *punishable*, and therefore it is now made unlawful to impose it. Declarations, not on oath, are substituted in those hundreds of cases in which oaths were formally required. But in the case you suppose all falls to the ground for want of the original authority; and *I am not aware* that, as to Protestant Sisterhoods, any law has taken notice of the matter, and made it penal either in the imposer or taker. You see, I underscore—for I am not familiar with the modern statute-book. As to the second, it is clear that no detention of the person could be justified, by reason of an oath, against the force of a writ of *habeas corpus;* it would be still unlawful imprisonment, if against the will of the party; the oath would be inoperative against the right of the father, husband, or guardian, to the custody of the body; but if the person is willingly restrained, were of an age to elect where or with whom she would be, the writ would, without regard to the oath, be inoperative for the father, or mother, or guardian. The Court would ask the young lady whether she wished to stay or go, and decide accordingly; of course, not so for the husband.

"If these remarks answer your questions, I believe they state the law correctly; the oath or vow, in short, is nothing, except as it binds the conscience, and with this the law will not interfere.

"I may not have understood your question. I heard that you had mooted some such point at Oxford, but I am not a great reader of newspaper reports of speeches, and so it has escaped me. If I have misunderstood you, and you think it worth while, pray write again.

"Yours, very truly,
"J. T. COLERIDGE."

The following letter, written by Rev. J. Keble, discusses vows from another standpoint :—

"*Hursley Vicarage, Winchester,*
"*June* 30, 1862.

"My dear Mr. Carter,

"I am sorry to write so tardily, and more sorry to be of no real use to you, as I am conscious must be the case. The poor little scrap which I send with this contains a few references such as I have been able to make out, being myself rather behindhand in engagements of my own at present. I should suppose (1) that there were *professed* Virgins—whether under perpetual vows or not does not seem clear—from the beginning as a kind of class, not order, in the Church (see Nos. 1–8, 10, 12); (2) that vows of Virginity were allowed, and were binding (13, 15, 19); (3) perhaps there were Sisterhoods, much more probably than not (11, 13, 18).

"On the whole, celibacy was greatly encouraged, but great caution required in professing it. But vows once made, whether in public or in private, were binding, and the breach of them is sin. *Cf.* St. Matt. xix. 12, and, by way of limitation, the principle in Numb. xxx.

"I fancy a great deal might be gathered out of St. Augustine and the Post-Nicene writers to show the secondary uses of the ascetic, for works of charity, etc.; but these hints, such as they are, seem all to relate to its primary end as a counsel of perfection ; which doctrine all those ages appear to have accepted most unreservedly.

"Forgive this meagre note, and believe me always, dear Mr. Carter,

"Truly and affectionately yours,
"J. Keble.

"What a case this is of coals to Newcastle!"

We regret to say that we have been unable to put our hand on "the poor little scrap" to which the figures in this letter evidently refer.

It may be observed, in reference to the vow of poverty—we believe that we are correct in stating, that in the Clewer Community the obligation only extended to the personal use of money. This was all the "simple" vow so taken required.

With regard to possessions or capital, it was recommended to the Novices on the eve of Profession (if they had not done so before) that they should make their wills under the legal advice, not of the Community, but of their family lawyer, and they were free to dispose of their property as they liked. They were in no case bound to leave money to the Community Fund, though, of course, they were free to do so. They did what they liked with their means, and were often reminded by their spiritual adviser of the claims of their family, especially when there might be special need. There would be no desire to become a rich Community, knowing from history how such a condition had sometimes proved perilous to spiritual advancement, and had invited the hand of the spoiler. The Sisters would be like the Apostle—"having all things, and yet possessing nothing." We are quite aware that there are Communities where the vow extends to capital; but at present we are only concerned with the conditions of the Religious Life at Clewer.

"*Clewer*, 1886.

"MY DEAR S——

"I should much like to know what you think of this proposal of mine. Some, you may know, have wished something of the kind of the *Sacré Cœur* (second Novitiate). Without at all thinking this possible, I have often wished for some further teaching of the Professed Sisters. I am much struck (in some cases) by the want of a sense of obligation to Community, or vagueness of obligation altogether except as to vows. Professed Sisters are, as you know, sent out after being in leading strings, without anything to help or guide them except what they get accidentally from happening to fall in with companions able to help them, or a Superior who is able and willing.

"I have thought that something of the kind would deepen sense of responsibility, and also make a time for some instructions after the difficulties of Professed Life have been experienced. But my own view is, difficulty arises from the variety of minds, and the very different ways in which things appear to them.

"Perhaps you have heard that the Bishop of C—— has

offered us Miss Hoare's work, and that new call is a fair opening for native work. The Chapter on Saturday accepted it. Best love.

"Your most affectionate
"T. T. C."

The following meditation upon "Heaven," written a great many years ago, is a fine specimen of Mr. Carter's method and thoughts in the treatment of Mysteries. It seems to contain traces of the Ignatian course, yet it is unlikely that at so early a date he had become acquainted with the Ignatian Exercises. These are his exact words:—

"*Heaven.*

"The Fulness of God, the Perfectness of all being, all life, all happiness. Himself the combination of all that we can conceive, or fail to conceive, of Love, Sanctity, Beauty, and of Attributes which are inconceivable. The Source and Origin, the End and Object of all possible existence, complete and at rest in Himself.

"God not solitary—the overflowing of His Perfect Attributes out of the fulness of love, the unfolding of the Perfect Life into the several Persons. One with the Father in a perfect unity, yet separate blessedness and separate consciousness of Perfect Life, in a mutual rest and joy and sympathy, acting and reacting, loving and beloved, moving and resting, ever the same without variableness, and yet ever in the flow of a perfect energy of life.

"The Will to create. Behold arising a world of ineffable beauty and variety, yet harmony inconceivably glorious, in material but spiritual forms, the expression of the Divine Mind, embodying of the first perfect idea of inanimate glory, having a life of its own, though unintelligent, the outward dwelling-place of all orders of intelligent and glorious creatures, the first and most beautiful, forming the innermost circle of the material world, nearest to God.

"The Will to rise in the order of creation.

"Behold the coming forth of blessed creatures, of highest intelligence, power of mind, beauty of form, energy of life, capable of knowing, loving, glorifying God.

"The nine orders of blessed angels arise, manifestations of separate perfect ideas of God, reflecting different Attributes

of God, and different forms of joy, happiness, rapture, beauty, power; each divided into their several choirs—

Seraphim.	Cherubim.	Thrones.
Dominations.	Virtues.	Powers.
Principalities.	Archangels.	Angels.

"Behold the mutual, responsive blessedness between God and the angelic creatures, acting and reacting, flowing out and returning back, shining in and reflected, ever at rest, but ever increasing in an endless flow; ever the same, yet ever new; ever undying, yet ever fresh like the motion of the sea, and the repose of the mountains. Still the Mind of God wills to create a yet more perfect life, a new nature, in itself less than the angels, incapable of standing alone, as they, but capable of union with God, as they are not, capable of mysterious wedded closeness with the Divine Nature, and in that union attaining their perfection and surpassing the angels.

"Behold the wondrous type and pattern of this new and more perfect creation, in the entrance in the heavens of the one indissolubly united nature of God and man in the One Person of the Eternal Son, taking His place beside the Father on the Throne of Glory, ever adored by perpetually blessed praise and thanksgivings.

"Behold, arise, after Him the several orders of the new race, after the same image, created natures, but having their fulness, their complement in the Divine Nature, one with the other blessed creatures, one with the One Unapproachable Godhead, humanity sustained by Deity, shining with the light of Godhead, the lowliness and nothingness of the creature owing all to God, and yet made greater than any other creature because of God. Wedded earthly love, the strong and the weak made one flesh, being the type of this blissful oneness of the nature of man, partaking of the Divine Nature.

"Life of redeemed man made perfect in God, in its full energy in heavenly light and glory, its sympathies of joy, its ministries of love, its sweetness of gentlest kindness, its depth of reverence, increasing knowledge, its rest ever advancing, growing with the infiniteness of God, ever resting in what it is, yet ever advancing into what is beyond."

In the following we have a specimen of the way Mr.

Carter brought such high and ecstatic thoughts as those in the contemplation of "Heaven" to bear practically upon the daily life:—

"*Monday.*

"Unite yourself in spirit with the Eternal Father, and meditate on Him as the end of your being, and a conformity of will to His Will as the highest happiness. Make resolutions of entire trust to his all-overruling Hand, as though you were a mere planet moved every moment on your course without will of your own.

"*Tuesday.*

"Unite yourself in spirit with the Eternal Son, and meditate upon the marvellous Incarnation, and how the flesh has been taken up into God, and all its affections and desires, to be united with Himself in His Flesh, to His Deity, and the closeness of the bond that is to conform all life to Him. Make resolutions on His indwelling as the centre of the truest life, and of the unspeakable bliss of following the Lamb whithersoever He goeth.

"*Wednesday.*

"Unite yourself in spirit with the Eternal Spirit, and meditate on the Mission of the Comforter, on Himself as the bond of the circle of love, which encircles and intertwines the Blessed Trinity, and which love descends, binds the children of the Lord, is their bridal union, and is the unction of the true Sister's life (and Christian's).

"Make resolutions of a loving spirit, a spirit of union, a spirit of joy in the Love of God, a spirit of sweetness in converse.

"*Thursday.*

"Unite yourself in spirit with the nine orders of holy angels, each separately manifesting some high expression of glory, and light, and purity, and beatitude, and ecstatic joy, and fervour, and speed in ministering to the Eternal in all the vastness of the creation of God; and meditate on humility and ready service, and a pliant will and a sweet submission, and a lively tender forbearance.

"*Friday.*

"Unite yourself in spirit with the Passion, with the agony, the humiliation, the abandonment, the loneliness, the utter self-mortification of the Eternal Sacrifice; and meditate on the crucifixion of the flesh with its affections and lusts, and the endurance of pain and self-abasement as the approach of the inner shrine of Godhead in Christ, and resolve to be conformed to it.

"*Saturday.*

"Unite yourself in spirit with the Saints now with Christ, their growing lights, their deepening visions, their restful enjoyments of God, their repose from trial, their abounding thankfulness, their longings for you to be with them, their increasing intercession for your perfection.

"Meditate on the blessedness of the end, and of a holy death, full of good works, and love and trust, and partial suffering, and fervent striving of self-discipline.

"*Sunday.*

"Unite yourself with the whole hierarchy of Heaven, God, the Angels, the Saints, the Human Nature of Christ, the Blessed Virgin-Mother, and with all orders of boundless light, and rejoice that you are called to the higher order of service on earth.

"T. T. C."

"*Sisterhoods and Church Order.*

"My dear ——,

"I strongly feel that Sisterhoods should be kept in harmony with Church order. They will occasionally have their own special days of observances, and these ought, I think, to have a bishop's sanction; and, further, they ought not to interfere with Church services, at least so far as Sundays and Holy Days, for which a special service is provided, are concerned. If an octave of any special observance is appointed with bishop's sanction, it ought not to override the Sunday or Holy Day service, unless it might be that two celebrations could be had, one for the special observance after the Church office has been said.

"The chapels of Religious Communities are private so far that there can be no interference from without—such as legally consecrated buildings are subject to; but they are not therefore independent of Church order, and the priests ministering in them are bound to guard the Church order.

"Such is my conviction on this critical point. Perhaps the special observance (in your case) of January 25 might be met by two celebrations, otherwise it seems against what I have thought needful to guard; or, perhaps this might be met by transferring the Sisters' special observance, but this could not be properly done without the bishop's sanction.

"My conviction is (and you have asked me) that all the Altar services of a Religious Community cannot be arranged for without proper sanction, if there is to be any divergence from the appointed order.

"They are private chapels as against purely legal claims, but not against Church order, and the priest under the bishop is to be the guardian of that order.

"Your ever affectionate
"T. T. C."

"*Community Organization.*

"About voting, in the two cases you speak of, there is this to be said: Are they not like Gladstone—'one man, one vote'? The youngest Sister's vote is as good as the eldest. We have gone on the principles of authority, and the elder Sisters and Warden have a certain weight in recommending to and guiding the younger. Judging from experience, our elder Sisters think that there is need of this being preserved.

"I have thought strongly that authority is needed in our English Communities, and that a *male* spiritual superior needs to have authority felt, otherwise the female element has it all in its own way. . . . I have read —— It is as you say, *ad populum* 'telling.' But he does not fairly meet G.'s points. He is slippery, but more clever than I had supposed.

"Ever your affectionate
"T. T. C."

Mr. Carter had a very exalted idea of what a Sister's life should be. He regarded it, with the Church, as a distinct vocation. In his "Spiritual Instructions" this is clearly and

strongly stated. "Sisterhoods," he says, "represent that side of the Christian life which our Lord taught when He drew certain women to devote themselves wholly to His service." He finds such persons existing even in the time of the Apostles, "single women only, dwelling mostly apart in their own houses." In the fourth century they are gathered into Communities. There can be no doubt as to the high estimate of the Church of such self-devoted persons, from the fact that only those who were legitimately born were allowed to so dedicate themselves.

We have a letter to Mr. Carter from Dr. Pusey, who seems to have been rather troubled about this restriction. He writes—

"My dear Carter,

"Do you know the grounds for that universal exclusion (is it not?) of those who are illegitimate from Religious Houses? It seems very hard, unless there be strong moral ground; *i.e.* that receiving their birth in that way, there be some moral disadvantage under which they are born. It seems, too, likely that there should be some injury, concupiscence apparently having so much to do with aggravating the *fomes* of original sin. One would not like to go against such large experience, if it is so, as I think. I suppose only in case of a very strong call of God it would be a reason for going against this rule, for if it is really a call of God, then He moves it to be complied with. There are strong *primâ facie* grounds against it. If you will, tell me this—when there is seemingly a strong call, (1) whether the rule is still absolute, (2) or whether it is dispensed with in such cases.

"Yours affectionately,
"E. B. P."

We have not Mr. Carter's reply to this letter, but, from our knowledge of his dislike of hard and fast rules, we should say he would be in favour of exceptions. Those who had themselves fallen into grave sin were, as a rule, excluded from entering the Religious Life; but there are exceptions, such as where the sin is only known to God or to very few

persons; and if repentance and vocation are true and deep; or they may become consecrated penitents or Magdalens. Canon Carter, in his "Instructions" to Sisters, stated that there were three requirements: the Virgin or widowed state; detachment from the things of earth; and obedience; in fact —chastity, poverty, and obedience. With regard to the second, it may be confined to the use of money—that is, of the interest and under permission.

We cannot do better than print an address which Mr. Carter gave in the Chapel of the Sisterhood, when some Sisters were dedicated. It will show what he thought these ladies were committed to by their promises to God, and his ideas about the religious vocation. It was delivered on Friday, June 28, 1861.

We have been supplied with the following notes of this address which Mr. Carter gave, as Warden of Clewer, after the Profession of a Sister, who became some years after the head of a branch House. It is printed here because it seems to contain some of those thoughts which reveal Mr. Carter's high estimate of what is technically called the "Religious Life" as a distinct vocation, involving an enlarged area of moral responsibilities, and opening up a fresh vista of the possibilities of holiness. The address may not be perfectly reported, but it is sufficiently accurate to be a specimen of his spiritual utterances on such occasions.

"*Friday, June* 28, 1861.

"DEAR SISTERS,

"When I last addressed you we were on the eve of a solemn office of admitting into probation in this Community those whom God has drawn thus to seek to live to Him, and I was led to speak to you of some of the special principles of such a service which they then sought to enter. Now we are on the eve of a still more solemn office of dedicating and sealing to God those who have been seeking to prepare themselves for a complete union with Him in this Community. This must now form the subject-matter of many anxious thoughts, many earnest prayers, many devout hopes, for those about to be dedicated, that they may have an

increased and quickened sense of deepened responsibility, and be stirred to the highest aims of a Divine life. To this I would draw your minds for a while, that we may dwell on the sacredness of such an office, the solemnity of such an act. There are different ways in which this act and the promises to God accompanying this act may be viewed. In the first place, it may be viewed in this way, as the reconsecration of ourselves to the tenor of all former consecrations. Whenever God would form any fresh bond of union, it must be founded on some former acts of consecration. The power of dedicating ourselves to God depends on the first consecration of ourselves to Him in Holy Baptism, in Confirmation afterwards, and onward in the continued life of the Holy Eucharist. These seals of consecration which bind us in special union with Him are the basis on which every after-act of consecration rests. Each fresh act brings them up again, pleading them, renewing them, resting on the fact of their having admitted us into the world of Grace, and we come before God with them. When we are about to make another dedication, we come clothed as it were with them when we enter into another covenant, and binding us with a fresh link to something higher and better than before in our advancing towards perfection.

"Though all acts of dedication are in one sense involved in the one original act of dedication, yet God records each fresh act of dedication as another call within His Kingdom, and accepts it as a fresh bond of love. It is, therefore, a solemn thought for those who are drawing near to God in such an act to look back and see how their former acts of consecration and covenants of union have been observed, and then to go forth in the full assurance of hope that the love which has drawn them to fresh sanctity is a ground of faith that God will remit their imperfection in the past and bless their new offering.

"(2) Again, such an act implies the taking up of things which before were not matters of religious obligation so as to become so henceforward—taking things which before were free, indifferent, not bound on the conscience; taking them up as a law of conscience, binding us about as a necessary law of holiness, as in the case of St. Paul, when he says, 'A necessity is laid on me; yea, woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.' This he said after he had received an Apostle's call, and when he became bound to traverse sea and land, to wear himself out to become all

things to all men, that he might save some; not a moment of his life to be lost, all thoughts to be devoted to the one object, no suffering to be shrunk from, not a toil unborne, because it had become to him a religion to follow out with his whole being, a new aim to fulfil a new purpose. Once he was not bound to this as a matter of conscience, but he had been called, and had accepted the call; he had bound himself by a fresh covenant, and had laid on himself a new law, and so all the acts and impulses of his nature came into a different sphere. 'Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel, because necessity is laid upon me;' so in the act of dedication we are contemplating; it brings indifferent things which before were matters of free choice, makes them matters of religious observance, binds them on the conscience, makes them virtues if they are observed, or matters of offence, of direct sin against God if they are neglected. This act of dedication implies it to be the aim to bring everything so completely under the influence of religion that the whole being is given up to God, as a free-will offering first, but then to become a holocaust, a burnt-offering; for when this call has been accepted, and we are bound by our own free act to God, everything must be consumed, must be burnt on the Altar, and rise as the smoke of incense, as a savour well pleasing unto God.

"(3) Again, another view under which the act and its accompanying promises must be regarded is, that it implies, though it may not be at first fully understood, the committing one's self to perfectness of life, binding one's self to God to be wholly His, that everything should take the form and shape of His own perfect Mind. It is so in two ways; first, in the act of consecration, which is the earnest of the complete dedication to God, taking it on one's self, and this after trial —trial not merely of one's fitness, but of one's willingness, trial of one's purpose as a matter which has been before one's mind for a long period. Shall I, or shall I not? Can I, or can I not? I may yet withdraw; shall I remain? This has been before the mind continually, and after the decision the resolution has been formed. 'Lord, Thou hast called me, and I hear Thy voice, and would indeed be Thine.' So it is with every complete surrender of one's self. There are three great hindrances in our way, three things which, acting on our life, draw us into temptation and mar much of our life and service. (1) All that comes under sensuality, under the outer sense of bodily impulses and desires under

that clinging form of nature, forming a chain of dangers and temptations which rise up again and again in one form or another, craving for indulgence. Now this is put away, removed; not merely what is unlawful, but what is lawful has been put away. There is of necessity a separation from home life, everything being left, even the body committed to God in this spiritual union, as one form of perfection beyond what is necessary for all, but which become necessary by this new act of dedication. This consecrated state in the body is the direct opposite to sensuality; it raises the whole sphere of life, removing all desires of the lower nature, giving ourselves up to be the Lord's as fountains sealed only for Him. (2) The second danger is the whole series of evil thoughts and desires, cupidity, longing for earthly things, a desire for their possession, their use, their enjoyment, looking upon them as one's own, appropriating them, saying all these are mine, 'Soul, take thine ease, etc.' This craving desire is sometimes confined to one or two objects, sometimes extends to a boundless range.

"This in all its forms is to be sacrificed at the foot of the Cross, by a renunciation of all we have, saying of each one, this I no longer hold; if I hold it, it is no longer at my own pleasure. This is given to God, to be held only at His pleasure; it is at the will of my God I hold it so long, and as He wills it. This implies that the very wish and desire of possession is gone because the will has renounced the means of such enjoyment. (3) That which sticketh closer to a man than outward possession and enjoyment, the inner spirit itself. The mind, the will in itself acting, becomes a snare, which mars the supernatural life by workings of the natural life. This, too, is removed, for the will has yielded itself to obedience, is bound about by rule in all things that can be ordered by rule. This is the meaning of your Rule of Life. It embraces the whole field, though its full meaning and extent may be perceived only by little and little. Moreover, these promises are bound by special obligations.

"All religious covenants must be sealed by sacrifice, and these promises are so sealed. When Abraham covenanted with God, the sacrifice was divided. The lamp of fire passed between the two parts—that is, God passed between the two in order to connect them, making them into one by consuming them both and accepting them in Himself. So sacrifice still seals all religious acts and covenants, binding them to God. He must pass between, between the life we

desire to lead and our previous life, sealing them in one, connecting them, that they may be united and offered up to Himself. Then with the sealing of the promises here—the sacrifice is offered on the Altar, and is pleaded in union with the Eternal Oblation offered in the Heavens, which alone makes the offering an acceptable one. You are bound about by rule in all things which can be ruled. This is the meaning of your own Rule of Life; it stands in the closest possible connection with your present act of dedication, pointing out in detail the means by which it may be fulfilled; directing, guiding all thoughts and acts and devotions at all hours of the day, raising all the actions of your life to a higher standard, leading you on to perfection. Aiming to do religiously such little acts as passing from one place to another, entering into communication with one person or another, to look on all things, even the most indifferent, as sent by God, and under the guidance of the Spirit, the obedient will may be led on to higher sanctity. Now, on entering into such a state, one would naturally look on all that God says to cheer and strengthen those who are passing into it, that they may be sustained and strengthened by the assurance that He is with them, that He is guiding all; and where can we look to see this? God does not speak from Heaven, yet we can understand what He would say if we look to what He said to those whom He first called to be wholly His by special consecration in His kingdom of grace—we may catch the lingering accents of His blessed voice, we may hear what He would say now—if we look to what He said to those whom He first called to be wholly His by special consecration in His kingdom of grace. We may catch those lingering accents, we may hear what He would say now—were He to break the silence, for we know what He said to the Apostles, what He infused into their souls before they went forth on their mission. One of the points which He specially assured them of was His special Presence with them even to the end: 'Lo, I am . . . world.' And not only this; but in His discourse on the last night when He was about to part with them, and they were about to be sent forth to a life of trial and difficulty, He spoke more fully, carefully assuring them of perpetual Divine consolation. 'I will not leave thee comfortless; I will come unto you; I will send thee another Comforter, and He shall take of mine, and show it unto you;—and what to do? To do what the Apostles needed to have done unto them. 'He shall guide you into all truth, teach you all things,

bring all things to your remembrance.' Those who were about to be teachers of others needed this to be done for them; and not only this, but 'I will give you power over all things, even serpents,' thus enduing them with miraculous power over hindrances and dangers. Now, this applies to our own case; to all who seek to be bound to God by special bonds He promises special aids and graces. He says, 'I will never leave thee without Divine consolations. I will fill up the void which thou wilt feel at times in thine heart. I will suggest to thee holy thoughts—thoughts of a higher world to thy meditative spirit. I will fulfil all My promises. I will strengthen thee with miraculous power to go forth and do and bear even to the end.' This He would say if we could hear Him speak. Then, again, He led them to unspeakable glory in proportion to their service and devotion to Him. 'Ye which have followed Me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man . . . tribes of Israel.' A glory distinctive for the Apostles. They were looking forward to a grandeur and joy within the glory of the Father as they passed within the mysteries of a higher world. So He would say now, if we could hear Him speak, 'In proportion as thou hast sacrificed thyself to Me, in proportion to the fulness of thy devotion to Me, in proportion to the dedication of thyself, in proportion to thy sanctity of life in union with Me, in proportion to thy service in union with Me to redeem the world, shall be hereafter the brightness of thy glory, according (I would not say) to what thou wast, hast been, hast done, but to what My love looks upon as the result. My free gift, not thine own.' There is one thing more He would say, as He said it over and over again to the Apostles when they were dwelling on the grandeur of their office, the power they should wield, the blessedness of the kingdom of which they were to be the leaders, the beauty which was to be developed through the Incarnation as they were beholding the crown which should fall on their brow as they passed into another world. He was continually chastening their expectations by warnings of coming trial; thus, when He said that those who had left all for Him should receive manifold more in this present life, He added, with persecutions; and again we find these words: 'The Son of Man must suffer many things,' bringing before their minds the chastening thought that they must win their way to blessedness through trial, that they must pass to their glory bearing the Cross, accepting all the pressure of the wounds, whatever may be the soreness of the keen feeling heart which

He longs to search out that He may purify it through and through. He says, 'Wilt thou be perfect?—it must be through trial. Wilt thou give up all?—it must cost thee something. Wilt thou be one with Me?—thou must take the darkness with the light, the pain with the joy;' but always adding this: 'I, too, have borne pain. I have tasted it. My sufferings make me sympathize with thine, but I will not spare thee. I love thee too well to spare thee. Through suffering I was made perfect. I will that thou shalt be perfected through suffering. Wilt thou go forth on thy path as I went forth on Mine? The Son of Man must be betrayed into the hands of wicked men'—that is to say, 'Wilt thou be associated with Me? Thou must bear the Cross. I kissed it before it was given to Me. I embraced it. I was nailed to it. I hung upon it. I would hang there now, if it were not finished. I consecrated it, and thou too must stretch forth thy willing hands and thy obedient feet and let the nails pierce thy hands, and thou must remain there as long as I will. Fear not, I am with thee. I will hold thee by thy right hand, for thou art Mine.' Thus He would speak and reason now, and we can understand Him better than the Apostles could understand Him. They could understand him better after the Agony was past, after the Passion was over, and He is as true now as He was then. Let us, then, trust to Him in perfect confidence, going onwards each in our separate path, perfecting what needs to be perfected, commencing what needs to be begun, that we may be sealed to God and transmuted into Himself. Do Thou, O God, accept us, that at the last day we may find ourselves in Thee, that we may know that all is of Thee, that all is Thine act, the breathing of Thy love, that we may be one with Thee! Lord God, grant it to us of Thy tender mercies' sake, through Thy Precious Blood."

"*Ischia.*

"MY DEAR ——,

"The last week or two in Rome in which I had intended to write to you was so pressed from the winding up of many interests and the flowing together of so many people for the Carnival, that I could not fulfil my purpose, until I could get a quiet time. I seemed to need the repose of this place. Rome is very exciting, and at this time of the year so many come to and fro whom one unexpectedly meets, each with a fresh set of associations, that it seems scarcely

possible to get away for a few hours. The repose of this sweetly pretty place, with its lovely coast views, is more helpful, and I am glad of the change, and the very first thing I do is to write to you, for you have ever been one of the most precious to me. I had the thought of writing before yours came with the wish. I hope you feel equal to the great charge you have, and are happy in its state of living progress. It seems now to me as a part of yourself. The sadness of dear ——'s final step will, I hope, not have depressed you, though I know your sadness at it, and thoroughly sympathize with it. My only rest is that all has been done which could have been done—that was possible consistently with the realities of the course along which I believe the Community is being necessarily led, necessary for its higher life, as well as the circumstances around us. May God guide her steps and make her a blessed instrument of His Will elsewhere, if so it must be. But she will, I think, have to pass through experiences that she does not anticipate.

"The Church of England must absorb into itself whatever is helpful to the devotional life in mediæval religion, if fairly an outgrowth of principles which formed part of the original faith, and what we need is to discern aright what is consistent in this respect, and it is not well, I think, to be ready to anticipate danger unnecessarily, but to be trustful that a pure intention may rescue many things from Roman deviations and respect them in their true Catholic sense, and not lose what is real and good because of abuse which does not rightly belong to it. She could not see this, and she has therefore failed to sympathize with what, as I believe, God has been manifestly working in the midst of us.

"You ask about Lent. I hardly know what line you have been led along, and the teaching which you are having will help you, I think, greatly.

"It has come to my mind to think that it would be well for you to take as one main thought, that of sacrifice, unfolding it in many different ways. First, with regard to God Himself—the groundwork of all, the love of the Father in giving up His Son, etc.; that of the Son in giving Himself; that of the Spirit in His co-operation;—these three united as the sources and exemplars of all sacrifice. Next, the practical carrying out of these (which have first been viewed as working in the recesses of God's Being) in communication with us. First, what passed in the Heart of the Father while our Lord was on earth; next, the main lines on which the

ST. ANDREW'S HOSPITAL, CLEWER.

spirit of sacrifice was acted on by our Lord; and then the continuous sacrifice of the Spirit in His abiding presence, His work in fallen souls, and with the resistances of human wills. Then take, as illustrations of our return to God, the Levitical sacrifices, burnt-offerings, etc. Then bring it home to yourself in the different forms of sacrifice in your own case—in home life, in religious life, in details of personal life; then the *supports* to a true correspondence with God in these—the renewed will, love, self-denial, perseverance; the *means* to attain union with the Will of God, responsive love to His Love,—contrition, resolution, hope. Contemplate these practical points; the example of Saints is, of course, helpful.

"All truest blessings to you.

"Your loving

"T. T. C."

CHAPTER VII.

RESIGNATION OF CLEWER PARISH.

It may be necessary to recall as briefly as possible, as it occurred some years ago, the history of the "Clewer case," both in the interest of Canon Carter and Bishop Mackarness, as it ended in securing to the bishops the power of veto, when a bishop considers the application of such a nature that it is wise not "to promote the office of judge." An effort had been made in the year 1877 to use that "unfortunate piece of legislation," the Public Worship Regulation Act, against Canon Carter. The "Oxford Diocesan History," published in 1882,[1] thus refers to the case—"A signal benefit has also been conferred upon the Church at large and not upon the Diocese alone, in the vindication of the authority of the bishop and his perfect liberty of instituting, or of not instituting, a suit, when it is desired to promote the office of the judge under the provisions of the Clergy Discipline Act." The first attempt at prosecution was a failure, through a discovery which did not throw credit upon the promoters, and which we understand is chronicled in the archives of the Diocese of Oxford. But the second effort at first was more successful. The question turned upon the meaning of the words "it shall be lawful," in the third section of the Church Discipline Act. Dr. Julius applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus* to force the bishop to initiate proceedings, and the bishop appeared in person to defend his rights, but lost the case. The matter was then referred to

[1] Page 189.

the Court of Appeal, and the judgment was reversed. Dr. Julius finally appealed to the House of Lords, where the decision in favour of the bishop was finally settled, and the opposite party condemned with costs. This judgment, we repeat, secured to the bishops a rightful discretion, and thereby protecting the clergy from frivolous and vexatious attacks, besides vindicating a right principle. It must be remembered that the question was not whether Bishop Mackarness had rightly exercised the power of veto, but whether he possessed such a power. It is easy at this distance from the events to misjudge Bishop Mackarness or to regard his line of action as less than heroic. When it was stated that Mr. Carter had resigned through the bishop's pressure, Mr. Carter immediately denied this, saying—

"It is perfectly unfounded. There is not a shadow of truth in it; it would have been contrary to Bishop Mackarness's nature to have given the slightest indication of such a wish had he felt it. Nor have I any reason to suppose that he thought of my resignation. He was one of the most just and honourable and liberal-minded of men. His action was dictated simply by a disgust at outsiders interfering in the services of a parish church, and a desire to sustain what he believed to be a bishop's rightful authority in such a case, for his own and the Church's sake. He did nobly, and it must have been at great cost to his own feelings, for necessarily it exposed him to the suspicion either that he was conniving at my course of action, while he entirely disapproved of it, or that he condoned it out of mere kindness."

The question—the solemn question—how far the oath of canonical obedience could be urged in such matters as those now in dispute, was one to which Mr. Carter, it need hardly be said, gave grave consideration, and upon which he sought advice from those who were qualified to give a wise and unprejudiced opinion. The following reply from Dean Church was both weighty and helpful upon the limits of episcopal authority:—

"*The Deanery, St. Paul's, May* 1, 1878.

"My dear Mr. Carter,

"I have not had an hour since I had your letter, or you should have heard before. I certainly cannot suppose that our Ordination vows carry with them an engagement to absolute and indefinite submission to a bishop's judgment. The term '*godly* judgment' plainly qualifies and limits the engagement. I should take it to bind me in things clear and certain, and in things indifferent: just as I should interpret the oath of canonical obedience made to me as Dean by all members of the cathedral chapter.

"But where the question is one of wide legal and constitutional dispute between serious responsible men, I do not think that a bishop has a right to urge an Ordination vow in order to force us to agree with him. The very question at issue is, what is the real law, and no single bishop can claim to rule that. At the same time I am bound to say that to me the law on the rubric seems so uncertain that I cannot feel that it binds to compliance. The interpretation which the P. C. rejects seems to me the most probable; certainly has its difficulties, specially from disuse and from having been allowed to be a dead letter, a circumstance which also attaches to the P.C. interpretation about the cope. It is *injustice to enforce uniformity on the ground of an uncertain law.* But in my own case, I should feel, if a bishop was disposed to be equitable, that this very uncertainty would allow me to *try* for some *modus vivendi*, to help him, if possible, in *his* difficulties. But perhaps this is impossible.

"Yours, etc.,
"R. W. Church."

"My dear Friend,

"You will know, and I trust will explain for me to the bishop, that all through these troubled times my own convictions have been clear that neither the Ridsdale judgment nor the new jurisdiction carrying it into effect is what we could accept. It is not easy to say how far other minds act on one's own, or how far the influence of a party-feeling may prevail. But I have both written and spoken publicly with the intention of expressing the convictions that I entertained. Whether it was wise or not on my part to do the things now attacked is another point, and is too late to be considered; but having so committed myself, I

ought, as I suppose, to be willing to bear the consequences, only I wish to do so in as passive and inoffensive a manner as I can. I mentioned certain names in my last letter as sympathizing in these views, only as wishing to show that I was not in accord with the extreme line in my beliefs and intentions, but with those whom all men look to as the more moderate.

"It is matter of the deepest pain to me, and is indeed the most oppressive feeling, that the bishop considers me to be repudiating his authority, and preferring other claims to my allegiance. I cannot, of course, expect him to place himself in my position and see the force of my own convictions. But in the matter now at issue, and of which my case is a sample, I can only see before me as ruling the contention the Ridsdale judgment, which I think untrue, and Lord Penzance's Court, which I think is wrongfully exercising authority in carrying it out. For though it is not now a case of the P. W. R. A., yet Lord P. claims to be Dean of Arches only on the strength (?) of it.

"I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to the bishop for his kindness and forbearance towards me, and can only hope that he may not misinterpret my motives in taking a line which he disapproves.

"Ever your affectionate

"T. T. C."

FROM HIS SON.

"*Eton, April* 2, 1878.

"MY DEAREST FATHER,

"I have sent back the plans to the Mother with a few remarks. I have read with much interest the letters. I suppose you have pretty well resolved on your exact course of action, as there is no doubt about the course taken by Lord Penzance. I see the notice about Mackonochie and Edwards in the paper. What, as far as I can understand the issue of things to be, and what I hope you will do, is to resign after the monition, with a statement of the case and your refusal to obey or acknowledge in any way the Court, but recognizing the *force majeure* that must prevail. I do not see what is gained by actual disobedience, followed by suspension and subsequent resignation. Perhaps, however, I am only advocating what is your view, as we did not enter into details on Sunday. This course seems to me the proper

one deduced from your principle of not fighting though you do not yield, and it seems to me to concede no principle, while it is the most graceful and dignified.

"Shall you see the bishop when he comes here, as he does to confirm, on Saturday? Not that I suppose you have any particular cause to do so.

"Your most loving son,
"JOHN."

"TO ARCHDEACON BALSTON.

"*August* 29.

"MY DEAR E——,

"I hope I have not done wrong. I have felt unable to consider what may be the result. I have been better able to think what would be true to myself, so as to be consistent, trusting that God may order events so as to prevent needless harm. I could not but see that to accept the bishop's directions would involve compromises which would place one in a very inconsistent position, affecting others also. The complaints against me are as to main points only, so that there was no hope of adjustment but by the sacrifice of these. I feel sure, too, that even the sacrifice of main points of ritual would not much matter so as to reconcile complaints and unite the parish, because my teaching is as distasteful as my outward ways. To come to terms with the bishop, supposing he directed me to concede part and save the rest, would therefore have no good.

"I fear alienation remaining with dissatisfaction at their [? not] getting all they desired from the bishop. With regard to the bishop, I have not felt any duty of obedience in this matter, and therefore feel free to consider what would be truest to myself; I mean in this way—the bishops have surrendered their jurisdiction in this matter. They cannot, as you say, sanction what the Court has condemned in the face of a remonstrant[1] parish. It can, therefore, only be by voluntary agreement that bishops and priests can settle such matters between them. Then, as to myself, it would be my own voluntary agreement that I should consent to the bishop directing me. I should be a voluntary party to the compromise. The concessions would, in fact, be my own act. I am committed too far to make voluntary concessions, and should be injuring the cause, and seriously affecting others.

[1] Mr. Carter was in the habit of imagining the amount and quality of opposition in his parish to be more than it really was.—ED.

There may be cases in which men are not so committed, and to whom no other work is open, who would do well to make the concessions. My position is rather peculiar. Partly, perhaps, of my own headstrongness, but partly spite of myself, what I now do will be much 'marked,' and affect the cause to which I feel I ought to look a great deal. I have long looked that some men must suffer and be put out before people will see that there is one-sidedness in the present policy. If all who are attacked quietly yield to the bishop's desire to settle matters, the present mode of dealing will quickly be stereotyped. Passive or active resistance nas in a way won the position—at least, disarmed attack. Similar means may gain more. I don't see how we can look to gain by letting the bishops add the weight of their spiritual authority to the judgment, and claim of their duty to submit not to the judgment as such, but to their spiritual authority directing them to do what their judgment prescribes. If this goes on it will be a more extreme form of government than we have ever had—spiritual authority enforcing the straitest line of State Courts. If my case goes on it won't be a repetition of Tooth's. It will be as passive as possible; I should simply let the inevitable take its course. It is just possible the bishop may reject the complaint, for we know that there is a deed guaranteeing the complainants against any money liability—an illegal act—and the Church association is the security. I am very sorry for the difficulty and annoyance caused to the bishop, for he would save one if he could, and will not like to let the matter go on; and he is kind, and it is painful to feel unable to accede to his proposal, but it is a case in which one's own consistency is much at stake. Will you kindly send this on to W——?

"T. T. C."

"*Clewer, Friday.*

"My dear Brother,

"I have been exercised not a little, as you may suppose, since our talk. My first impressions were very confused, and it was difficult to disentangle them, and the tendency to take the easier way to spare myself and the bishop, etc., was strong; other thoughts have come since as to the consistency of such a course, and its possible effects on others. You know my sympathies in the Church would

have run, not with the extreme set, but the more moderate section, such as is represented by All Saints, Margaret Street. I have been, therefore, talking the matter over with Berdmore Compton and Liddon, and one or two other like men; they can look at the matter outside, and they are strong against any resigning now. You will like to see their letters, and the line they take. Difficult as is the path of refusing the offered proposal of resignation now, the accepting it seems the more difficult, if, as I fear, it involves loss of caste and inconsistency, and a discouraging effect on others, and a making it easy for the Church Association.

"R. T. G. (a very different mind) has just written very kindly, and though he would persuade accepting law, though bad, yet, as to resignation, he says, 'We have heard that you have entertained thoughts of resigning the living, which would certainly have the effect of saving the conspirators trouble and expense, but would wear in my opinion too much the appearance of conscious weakness on your part, and afford them the opportunity of very much misrepresenting your case. I should rather say, as once was said, though in a different sense, "Nay, but let them come themselves and fetch us out."' This is rather striking from R. T. G., and is certainly, I suppose, the case.

"It is a painful conflict of feeling, but I would wish to take the truer line at all risks. I feel strongly that I ought not to let the House of Mercy matter come in to rule the case. You will see that my mind is now to believe it right to let the matter go and be simply passive.

"Your affectionate

"T. T. C."

"*Clewer Rectory, June* 14.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"We shall be most glad to get a day with you that week of the 22nd; the 26th, I think, will be best. If anything happens to make me wish to alter it, I will write to Gertrude; but I think it would quite suit. . . . I heard from Pott the other day—a feeler from the bishop, asking what I could do, and apparently apprehending a possible reversal in the Lords. I told him that my idea was to ask the bishop (if the appeal is sustained) to regulate my late celebration as he wished, and that I should retain my present use at the early celebration; I thought this would remove

grounds of complaint to a great degree, and so smooth his course. It would be, in fact, acting on what (late) Lichfield did with Bodington at Wolverhampton, and as the archbishop has sanctioned, and would be, I think, the way in which a general compromise might be effected. E. C. U. would fall in with this. . . .

"Your affectionate
"T. T. C."

Besides the letters which passed between the Rector of Clewer and the immediate members of his own family, there were a great many between him and those with whom he was frequently in correspondence on all matters connected with the Oxford movement, and now concerning the very anxious step which he was about to take in resigning his living, and which he did take in 1880. It was put to him "whether he would obey the bishop in the matters complained of, provided his lordship acted as Chief Pastor of the diocese by his own authority, without any reference to the operation of secular statutes?" What would his reply be to the bishop? Would he then be bound to obey for conscience' sake, or feel bound to resign?

His reply was as follows:—

"To the Bishop of Oxford.

"In answering this question I must trust to your lordship's kindliest forbearance, and that you will allow me to place before you as a reply the thoughts that press on me in this great emergency. I am committed to a cause which appears to me only a phase of the long contention which, ever since the Reformation, has been going on in England between two contending parties.

"These disputed questions of ritual are now the outward symbols of one side in this contention, and to the mind of men generally, as to my own, express its distinctive doctrines. I have slowly but deliberately adopted the main points in dispute, only as simply as I could, to avoid needless offence, and the matters of complaint in my case can only relate to these.

"What I believe and have done, have from various

circumstances been publicly put forward, partly not of my own seeking, but rightly or wrongly, I cannot act as though I were alone, or did not commit others, were I to do anything of my own will which would involve me in any surrender of what I have committed myself to. After all that has passed, I should be justly liable to the charge of inconsistency.

"You will, I trust, pardon me in saying that I cannot consider it possible for you to give me directions on these vexed questions, when the public mind is so agitated, without being influenced in some measure either by popular feeling or by the late judgments. What would have been possible before the late judgments is less so now; and bishops seem to me placed between the alternatives of either ignoring the judgment altogether, or virtually acting under that decision, while seeming to act by their own spiritual authority.

"I do not see how in the face of the complainants, who are really many of the chief parishioners, (a bishop) could uphold me in the main points which the Court has condemned.

"If these were minor details, and by surrendering them the greater points might be saved, the case would be easy, and the desire of accommodation on my part would be ready; but as the only points that can be objected to are the greater points, then any surrender must involve compromise; a compromise without satisfying the complainant would involve me in inconsistency.

"It does not appear to me a question whether or no I would obey my bishop in what he could clearly claim my obedience; but whether I would rather let the law take its course, or accept a kind offer on the part of my bishop to step in and, at cost to himself of the displeasure of the complainant and the public, save as much as the bishop reasonably could on condition of my surrendering a part.

"In regard to the anxious question of obedience as between priest and bishop, the case (would) appear to me thus:—

"The matter in dispute is not one contemplated by the Prayer-book, where it rules that reference should be made to the bishop in case of doubt, for neither of the complainants doubt or myself, though we take contradictory views.

"Nor is it a case in conflict with my promise so 'to minister' as this Church and Realm have 'received the same'; for though the Realm in its highest ecclesiastical tribunal has condemned the points of ritual in question, the

Church in the person of the last three real Deans of Arches has upheld the principle of the Ornaments Rubric for which we contend.

"Nor is it a case in which I have done anything contrary to the Act of Uniformity, for our contention is that we are only the more fully carrying out the directions of the Prayer-book, the opportunity having arisen for restoring what had been lost.

"On the whole, therefore, it seems to me clear that the question of duty pledged or implied does not apply; that the late Act and the action of the Courts have taken these particular cases out of the hands of the bishops, so as to hinder their acting judicially by their own spiritual authority; that any action now taken in such cases as between priest and bishop must be dependent on purely voluntary agreement; and that therefore my readiness to comply with what the bishop proposes can only be a surrender on my part, either for the sake of compliance with the bishop's desire, or of saving my position through his kind interference.

"I can from my heart say that there is no one to whom I would more readily submit a case, in the assurance of being justly and kindly dealt with, than my own bishop, and were the present times different from what they are, my natural disposition would be to concede almost everything for peace. But (it will be clear) I feel sure, how I could not surrender matters of such moment under such critical circumstances as I have described, simply out of the desire to comply with a bishop's kind suggestions. I have given my reasons at such length as to show my anxiety to express as clearly as possible my motives, and in order that I should not be thought lacking in the courtesy and gratitude which are due to you.

"T. T. C."

It was only on rare occasions that Canon Carter kept any copy of his letters; but at this crisis we have some in his own hand. He wrote very much in the same strain to one who was in close touch with the bishop, and who had in early days worked at Clewer.

"My dearest ——,

"You who know me so well will know what I feel about the bishop's kindness. I could not read his

letter without the intensest sense of regret at the position in which I find myself, and yet not seeing how with my sense of consistency I could act as I should desire, and would at once do, were it a simple matter of priest and bishop. Nor would I scruple at once to accept the bishop's judgment, if the bishop were free to act without the overruling force of the higher Court and the Privy Council judgment which must determine the case. I could not disobey the bishop's monition, but his monition could not contravene the P. C. judgment in the main points at issue, and to submit to it would only be in another form to accept the ruling of the Court, in compliance with which the bishop's monition must issue; or, should a bishop take a line of his own, and rule independently against the complainants, it could only be to be overruled on appeal. The bishop's jurisdiction in a case thus ruled appears to me to be an entirely different thing from what it ought and was intended to be. Fenelon submitted to the unquestioned ultimate authority of the spiritual tribunal. I should be submitting to what is the bishop's act indeed professedly, but really what was above it and what had overruled it—in fact, to the State tribunal.

"It is most painful to me to write this, and to face the consequences, aggravated as they are by what I know it costs the bishop; nor could I do so but on highest grounds of conscientious convictions, which circumstances have often led me to express publicly, so as to be quite committed before the Church. At my age, to myself the present cost is little. What it may—I know *must*—cost others is another thing. . . . I should retire from my parish work and place, where I could no longer hold it without a vain conflict. Personally, there would be nothing of the martyr in it, except the 'witness,' so far as this, that I believe the order of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to have gone wrong, and the late judgment one founded on policy rather than justice. Circumstances have forced me forward to testify to these beliefs. I do not doubt them, though I dislike the prominence into which the turmoil has brought me. You know how little conflict or resistance has been in my nature, and how much the way of peace and peace-making has been my disposition; but I have never faltered in my convictions on the facts of the case as they have come to me, and so to be true to myself, there seems only the one way of being wholly passive. I had rather do as you understand me—let the matter go to Lord Penzance, because I should have no compunction in

disobeying him. You will say all you kindly can for me to the bishop.

"Ever yours affectionately,
"T. T. CARTER."

Some misunderstanding ensued, and Mr. Carter wrote again to the same effect:—

"I am much concerned that through insufficient explanation I have caused so much trouble. My meaning in my last, as in my first letter to you, was the same, viz. when the matter comes before Lord Penzance, I should not plead, either as to the facts or the merits, nor indeed appear at all. It would not, indeed, be with any feeling of contempt, but it would be in silence and passively, because I cannot recognize Lord Penzance in any way as possessed of any spiritual power or rightful authority in these matters, but should yield to him only as having power from the State. I need not give my reasons, as the bishop will, I trust, understand that it is in no way whatever connected with his own action, but purely from the fact of the State, as it appears to me, having unconstitutionally taken these matters into its own hands.

"To the question what I should do on being monished by Lord Penzance, I would say that I am not altogether acting blindfold as to consequences, though I am much obliged to the bishop for explaining so particularly what would happen. I do not [suppose] I should heed a monition which I understand to be a warning as to what would follow in case of disobedience. . . . If suspension followed, I should retire under protest. . . ."

(The rest of the letter is very difficult to decipher. It seems to say that the Rector would retire, and not defy or oppose the law being carried out, though unable to alter any practice at Lord Penzance's orders.)

Canon Carter, in all this, was not acting alone; he sought advice in different quarters, as it was his habit to do. Dr. Liddon was evidently hoping against hope, that some way out of the difficulty might yet be found. His letter reveals this:—

"My dear Warden,

"I have been thinking your letter over. I should make submission to the bishop's judgment depend on his willingness to state publicly (1) that his application to you was quite independent of the P. W. R. A.; and (2) that the advice he would give you would be in no way influenced by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If he consents to this, we must, I think, admit that, however plain the meaning of a rubric may be, a bishop might decide on the expediency or inexpediency of reviving it, if it had been for a long time obsolete.

"If the bishop's decision involved you in inconsistency, I should resign. Resignation would leave you free for your main work at the House of Mercy, and would untie your hands in some ways. It would also teach the bishops what is involved in their cultus of the State.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"H. P. Liddon.

"I am too probably advising what may involve great difficulties of income. Pray understand me as writing in the abstract, and as feeling that there may be considerations which I do not sufficiently recognize."

We gather from the following letter, written by Dr. Bright, that he also was consulted in this difficulty:—

"*Christ Church, Oxford.*

"My dear Carter,

"I am a very poor casuist, and cannot offer any opinion worth having in the very grave question which you have had brought before you. And by this time I doubt not you will have come to some decision. I can only say one or two things which struck me as to the good bishop's proposal. I can well understand that a person who held that the present Judicial Committee had no moral claim on his obedience might take one out of several courses. He might (1) resign; or (2) wait to be [imprisoned] or deprived; or (3) might say in effect, 'although I do not recognize the Judicial Committee as a regularly [constituted] Ecclesiastical Court, yet I could say that the *vis major* is definitely against the use, *e.g.*, of the vestments, and that they cannot practically be upheld under the present condition of the Established Church.' I think it best to give up the use of them, rather

than surrender my opportunities and abandon my flock; and my bishop's advice goes in the same direction.

"But the Bishop of Oxford apparently asks you to submit to a certain spiritual authority of his, independently of the rulings of the Judicial Committee. He offered to deal with the case as if the Committee did not exist; to act simply as a spiritual ruler; and to address you as, *ex hypothesi*, denying the authority of the Judicial Committee to make the ornaments of 1549 illegal.

"This is—or was—his proposal. Two things occur to me respecting it. (1) It seems unreal to say that he sets aside the decisions of the State Court of Appeal. We know that in fact he does not. He would never have made this proposal but for the judgment of that Court hostile to the vestments. He would not, for himself as bishop, ignore or disown the Court. He could not, in other words, 'set aside,' in any one case, the authority or the 'operation' of the law which that Court represents and enforces. But this is not my chief difficulty. The main point is (2), the question as to the extent of this authority which the bishop asks you to acknowledge, or 'not repudiate.' It is certainly not that authority defined in the Preface of the P. B. to be exercised when two parties agree to appeal to the bishop as interpreter of a doubtful rubric. It is something different; and here I do not understand how the bishop can claim a *general* authority to dispense with this or that point in the law of the P. B. For the bishop speaks to you as to one who believes the law to be still in favour of vestments. The judgment being no true expression of Church laws, therefore the question which at once arises is, what is the amount, what are the limits of this authority thus claimed? What if a bishop, invoking the same authority, had forbidden a priest years ago to celebrate weekly, or settle to baptize after the second lesson, or to read the Athanasian Creed on all the days appointed? In short, if we recognize, in regard to the present distress, an undefined authority on the part of Bishop Mackarness to set one free from the obligation of this or that rubric, one must recognize it also in, *e.g.*, Bishop ——,[1] or in a possible Rationalistic bishop as well as a Puritanical one. My difficulty is simply a constitutional one; no authority of bishops, in our Church, is indefinite or unlimited. What are the lines which mark out the scope of this authority which the bishop wishes, professedly, to exert? You are asked to obey for conscience'

[1] The Editor declines to give the names of bishops now living.

sake—yes; but what principle is involved in such obedience? How far would it carry you, or some one else, who accepted it under the circumstances? If a bishop can dispense with any Church law, he is for his diocese what James II. wished to be as to the general laws of England.

"Yours in all sympathy,

"W. BRIGHT."

It will be seen by the following letter, from the pen of Dr. Bright, some years later, that he did not take a very hopeful view upon the reconstruction of the Final Court of Appeal.

"MY DEAR CARTER,

"I do not think there is any clear path out of the jungle of the 'Courts' question. If you have a mixed Court, in which the lay judges out-number the spiritual, you have the same result as now—a judgment may be imposed by laymen on the Court spiritual of the province. There is a plan under consideration by the Committee of the Lower House, which would divide the Court of Appeal into a lay and a spiritual element, and provide that if their two divisions (*i.e.* majorities in them) disagree as to all the points in the case, the appeal shall be dismissed, and that sentence of [suspension], decreed by the Provincial Court, shall not take effect, if disapproved by the unanimous voice of the Court of Appeal, etc. I fear that this would be called too cumbrous. It will, perhaps, be discussed next week in Convocation. It does not seem possible for me to adopt the theory that English bishops, because State-appointed, are not representatives of the Church spiritually;—that assumed would lead to far-reaching results.

"At present, I think that Lord C. was quite right in deprecating the attempt to constitute Courts acceptable to all parties. The Dean of —— is a person whom to know is to like; but in this matter he has shown what the 'Antiquary' calls 'right Scottish craft.' He wants to drive us into a corner, and to cast on us the onus of proposing or offering to accept some scheme of an Appeal Court which will be practicable—in that word lies the whole difficulty. 'Practicable'? What does it mean? Such as can be got through the House of Commons? What if Church principle forbids

us to aim at *that* result by the method which involves an illegitimate compromise?

"Yours affectionately,
"W. BRIGHT."

To the Rev. W. A. Carter.

"*Clewer Rectory, July* 5 (1878).

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

". . . I am very grateful for your kindly remarks. You hit the points intended, and I was very glad indeed to know that you thought it temperate. It is an anxious time, and I have wished to keep the balance as even as I could, and at least explain my own position, which circumstances have made a complicated one, as well as help others in the same predicament. I wish I could see your new home, but it will not be possible for some while. I shall be tied till we leave home together, if all goes well, on August 6. Then we are due at Bakewell, and after staying there four or five days, hope to make our way to Arran, and so upward from thence to some of our haunts in Ross-shire.

"Your affectionate brother,
"T. T. C."

To the Bishop of Oxford.

"*July* 11.

"MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

"What has taken place in Convocation has materially affected my position. Your lordship will, I trust, do me the justice to believe that in refusing to abide by your judgment and yield to your remonstrances, I am actuated by the honest conviction that you could not judge the main points of issue otherwise than as the Law Courts had decided; that at least in my own mind I could not separate your action from such decisions; and to those decisions I could not in any way yield myself, because I believe them to be historically untrue, and false to the principles and interests of our Church. It was only on this ground that I felt unable to give way, though with much pain to myself, and the more so because in the course of prosecution your lordship became involved on my account in so much that must have been sorely trying.

"The fact that many others were depending on what I did, and that a cause which seemed to me, and to many thousands of clergy and laity, to be of great moment, touching doctrine

as well as the externals of the Church's worship, involved me in the greater difficulty as to any possible accommodation.

"But circumstances are now altered, and though I deeply regret the action of Convocation, I cannot decline to recognize its authority, though not as yet of any legal force. I do not, however, see my way to such changes as alone would satisfy the demand made on me. The only course, therefore, which remains open to me, is to place my resignation in your lordship's hands, to accept or not at your discretion.

"This, then, I now decide to do, and if by doing so I am relieving your lordship from any further trouble and anxiety, I shall be truly thankful, while I trust you will forgive me any wrong that, in your judgment, I may have committed, while acting, as far as I am able to judge, conscientiously in carrying out what I believe to be the law of the Church, not without regard to the good of my parishioners.

"Believe me, my dear lord,
"With true respect,
"Truly and very sincerely yours,
"T. T. Carter.

"P.S.—My anxiety in taking this step is, in reference to those of my curates who, being concerned only, or almost entirely, with parish work, will have to leave, that they may have sufficient time to look out for other work."

To the Rev. W. A. Carter.

"*July* 12 (1878).

"*Private.*

"My dear Brother,

"I have taken the only step that seemed rightly open to me, and sent to the bishop the offer to resign, if he is willing to accept. I hope you will think this right. I have marked it 'private,' only wishing to keep it to your *own house* for a while. I only wrote to the bishop yesterday. . . .

"Your very affectionate brother,
"T. T. C."

It will be observed that Mr. Carter felt the bishop could not pronounce a judgment of his own, but was bound, as to the points in debate, by the ruling of Privy Council Judgments. In a letter of Dr. Bright's, which we print, it will be seen that he strongly takes the same view. The question whether

the bishop's directions ought to be obeyed, when he was "the mouthpiece of Courts," was discussed before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts. A number of Churchmen felt that they could not yield obedience to the bishop when he was "simply forcing upon them the judgment of a Court whose authority they repudiated."[1] Others were ready to listen to the bishop, without going "behind him as to the reasons of his directions." It is a difficult distinction, and Mr. Carter was not seeking a loophole for escape. Dearly as he loved his parish and the neighbourhood of his birth and earliest years, what he believed to be the best interests of the Church would stand before all else in his heart. Men may think him wrong in his judgment, but they can never distrust the purity of his intention or the courage which postponed personal interests to public good; neither can they estimate the pain which he suffered, the cost of the sacrifice to his sensitive nature, when he resigned his living.

The parishioners were prompt in the expression of their sympathy, and a meeting was convened, at which was carried, with the heartiest unanimity, the following resolution:—"This meeting desires to express its deepest sympathy with the Rector of the parish under the prosecution with which he is threatened, and its confidence in him that he will maintain the principles for which he has ever contended, and which he has taught his flock to value." A "memorial" was also signed by a large number of parishioners, expressing their confidence in their pastor, in opposition to some who favoured the "persecution," and called forth a reply from the Rector, in which he thanked them for their sympathy, and added—

"I can truly say for myself and my curates that our simple and most earnest desire has been to follow what is conscientiously believed to be the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, according to the teaching of the Prayer-book, as the truest interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. During a ministration of upwards of forty years as a priest in the Church of England, I have endeavoured, to the best of

[1] Report of the Royal Commission, vol. ii. p. 156.

my ability, and, I trust, honestly, to learn what her teaching is, and now, when the day of my account cannot be far off, I do not hesitate to affirm that every day's experience more and more convinces me that the principles which your memorial is intended to support are the true principles of the Church of our fathers."

The letters following relate to the renewal of the prosecution and the actual resignation.

"*Clewer Rectory, August* 9 (1879).

"My dear Brother,

"I am obliged to wait before I can take any action. The E. C. U. Council pressed on me that my resignation would not stop the appeal. I told the bishop; he disputed this, but suggested my taking advice on it. Two or three days ago I saw Sir Robert Phillimore, and talked it out with him. He spoke decidedly that this was the case; that as the appeal affected the bishop as well as myself, my withdrawal would still leave it open to go on; that my withdrawal would only damage the case, and leave an unfavourable impression on the judges.

"I wrote this to the bishop, and it seems unavoidable, therefore, to leave it for the present. So I go away on Monday, trusting that my course is clear for the time. We make for Berchtesgaden. Best love to all.

"Your very affectionate

"T. T. C."

"*Gosau* (*above Halstadt See*), *September* 6 (1879).

"My dear Brother,

"I don't know whether you have been in these parts, but I suppose that a cosmopolitan like yourself has been. We are just under the massive peaks of the Dachstein, some 9000 feet high, the monarch of the Styrian Alps—very grand; and the valley in which our little inn is placed resembles Switzerland more than any part we have seen. It is a beautiful evening after a glorious day, and you may judge of the air and clearness by our just having dined (it is half-past eight) in an open kind of summer-house. We have had very beautiful weather, only one wet day, and three or four thunderstorms in the evening, clouding and

chilling the following day. But for these very occasional breaks, it has been uninterrupted sunshine. I have wished we could spare some to poor England, though I trust it is mending with you. We have had a very delightful round, staying at a few places, and all full of beauty. Up the Rhine to Würzburg, where Mdlle. —— lionized us—an interesting old city; passing rapidly through Munich to Reichenhall, a pretty simple kind of Cheltenham, to Berchtesgaden, which you must know. One cannot speak calmly of its beauty and that of its neighbourhood. We were a good eight or nine days there, then two days at Salzburg, climbing up all the stairs duly, and encompassing the Castle Hill all round by moonlight, greatly charming my two daughters; then on to Ischl for a Sunday, and on to Halstadt See. It is not the lake I should have chosen for a summer villa, though beautiful of its kind; but we rowed across to look at the house of Herr ——, and then to Alt Aussee, where we stayed three delightful days in a country inn hanging over the lovely lake; it is most charming. And there are two other lakes within a drive also—very beautiful; indeed, it is the land of lakes. Here we remain a few days; it is the end of our tether—a good mountain close, 2400 feet up. We return by Ischl, Passau, Nürnberg, Cologne, etc.

"The most strange thing is that we have not seen above six English faces on our route, barring about a dozen whom we saw at the English service at Ischl; but these were Americans. Our English kind have taken other paths. Henry Oxenham joined us at Ischl, and is with us still. We have come upon one English service only—at Ischl; a glimpse at the *Times* once or twice.

"There seems a general lull, happily. . . .

"Your affectionate

"T. T. C."

"*Clewer Rectory, Windsor, March* 18 (1880).

"My dear Brother,

"I hope you have good accounts from Bournemouth, and wonder if you have heard from Neville, but suppose not. I have had many anxious thoughts since we parted; various things came up. Whether the bishop may appeal is still uncertain. The bishops are much moved at the judgment going against their discretion, which they seem to have assumed. I have heard how the archbishop and the

others at the wedding, while robing in the vestry, were talking ominously as to this. What the bishop might otherwise do is also uncertain. I find that I could resign when the law is put in force, if at last the bishop is obliged to act. I therefore wait on to see what may come. Nearly all I hear from think this the best course for the present, and that the victory of the Church Association would be more complete and easy if I resigned now. It is not easy to see what is right. I can only hope this is. It is unfortunate for one that circumstances have brought it about that a cause for which I have been long contending, whether for good or ill, is mixed up with my own private course. Best love to all.

"Ever very affectionately yours,

"T. T. C."

In Holy Week, 1880, the appeal was decided in favour of the bishop, and the next day Canon Carter sent in his resignation.

"My dear Lord Bishop,

"Your lordship is aware that for some time I have contemplated the resignation of my benefice, but deferred taking the step while the cause which you were kindly defending in my favour was still unsettled. This hindrance is now removed.

"I have regretted giving pain to your lordship by declining to submit the matter complained of to your decision (as under ordinary circumstances I would have gladly done), because I did not suppose it possible that your lordship could decide, at all events, the main points at issue irrespectively of the late Privy Council judgments, and those judgments I could not even indirectly accept, believing them to be prejudiced and destructive of the true historic position of the Church of England.

"But while unable thus to surrender the cause to which, from sincerest convictions of its truth, I had committed myself, I am unwilling to take advantage of your lordship's generous forbearance by continuing to act against your strong disapproval, and this in the face of a divided parish.

"I therefore now resign my cure into your lordship's hands, and with much gratitude and sincerest respect for much kindness, I beg to remain,

"Your most faithful servant,

"T. T. C."

"*Tunbridge Wells, April* 6.

"My dear S——,

"I thank you heartily for your most kind thoughts of me. You have happily not known the complication or the strain of such difficulties as I have fallen into. There was, I think, no other way out of it consistently either for the bishop or myself, and it was the result of long brooding and searching of heart that I came to it as the only possible conclusion. I do not think the bishop could do otherwise than seal what I have done.

"You may have known the strain the circumstances brought upon him, and yet I was so bound about that I could not take the course which he would have wished of giving way.

"The bishop would license me to the Wardenship of the House of Mercy, so that I should still be united with you and my brethren, and have the pleasure of a seat at your 'Synod.'

"With many thanks for all your kindness,

"Believe me, ever very sincerely yours,

"T. T. C."

When Mr. Carter's resignation was made known, a public meeting was convened by the churchwardens, when the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That this meeting has learnt with feelings of the deepest concern and regret that the Rector of Clewer, the Rev. T. T. Carter, who has endeared himself to all classes by his unremitting devotion to the spiritual and temporal interests of the parish during the long period of thirty-six years, has resigned his charge. This meeting fervently hopes that before the act of resignation is legally complete, the Bishop of the Diocese may discover a mode of averting such a deplorable catastrophe, and thus secure to the parishioners the continued services and ministrations of their revered pastor so long as God may be pleased to spare him."

(Signed, etc., etc.)

The unanimous expression of sympathy on the part of the Ruridecanal Chapter with Canon Carter in his troubles on resigning the living of Clewer, and of appreciation of the high motives which actuated him, called forth the following reply:—

"My dear Rural Dean,

"I am at a loss adequately to express my sense of thankfulness at the unexpected expression of affectionate sympathy from my brethren of the Deanery, which you have forwarded to me, and of their generous estimate of the motives which have actuated me in my past course. Conscious as I am of the variety of judgments that must have been passed by so large a body, of my conduct under such critical circumstances, their kindly appreciation of the desire which I have had at heart is the most gratifying tribute I could have received.

"I am also thankful for the feeling, so kindly expressed, that I have in any degree contributed to the singular unanimity of brotherly spirit which has uniformly marked our discussions, however keen the interest attaching to the subject, and for the trust that the ties which have hitherto bound me to the Deanery may not be altogether severed. It is with sincerest pleasure that I look forward to an uninterrupted intercourse (though under an altered relation with the diocese) from which I have learnt so much, and through which some of the most precious associations of my life have been cherished. Let me add, my dear S——, how much the value of the resolution, so unanimously passed, is enhanced by the testimony of your own kindly sentiments towards me, with which it is accompanied.

"Ever most sincerely yours,
"T. T. Carter."

A committee was formed, with Lord Beauchamp as chairman, members of which were the Earl of Glasgow, Earl Nelson, Hon. C. L. Wood, Dean of St. Paul's, Earl of St. Germans, Canons Gregory and Liddon, J. G. Talbot, Lord Forbes, Rt. Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Colonel Makins, Rev. Dr. West, and Rev. J. E. Hall, for the purpose of presenting Canon Carter with a House of Residence, as Warden of Clewer, as a memorial in recognition "of his exertions in the service of the Church." This Mr. Carter accepted, tears flowing from his eyes as he thanked the two or three representatives who made the presentation of the house, when completed; but he only accepted it on the condition that it should be the residence of successive Wardens after his

decease, and not his own property, but that of the House of Mercy. The estimated cost of the house was £3000. After his death, as soon as his daughters could obtain another house, they withdrew from it, and it is now occupied by his successor, the Rev. G. Seignelay Cuthbert.

The following is Mr. Carter's own account of the motives which actuated him throughout this painful time:—

"I was thought by some an extreme Ritualist, and by others that I was led on against my own mind by my curates. But neither was true. My inclination has been for a good measure of Ritual. I have believed a higher Ritual to be our rightful inheritance. I have also thought outward forms, if not in unreasonable excess, a means of teaching the faith, and conducive to faith, and so to spiritual life; that souls are influenced and are won either by subjective means, as the Wesleyans do, or by objective means, by what meets the eye and touches the senses from without; and I have had no doubt but that the latter means is the Church's method.

"With this I have had a rather painful sensitiveness as to troubling others with such matters. I could never, moreover, but feel a sense of what was due to authority, which some of my friends seemed not to feel. But surely authority is a note of the Church.

"Then as to facts. From the first I kept the eastward position, and, I think, the mixed chalice. In minor ways, as in processions, and choral celebrations, and the Altar cross, and flowers, I went beyond what the upper ten of the congregation at all liked, as they showed more or less uncomfortably. But the first movement that made a commotion was lighting the candles at the early celebration.

"Things went on until matters became more critical, and, I suppose, the teaching disapproved. But not until the dissentients had left the church did I light the candles at the later celebration, or use vestments. After a while the attack came, and the crisis. Bishop Mackarness, unlike his predecessor, left me free, and knew nothing of what had been going on, and when the proceedings against me began, he was startled and shocked at my excesses, kind as he always was notwithstanding, and helpful afterwards.

"The line which I took subjected me to a good deal of criticism, and could hardly be approved of by at least the

leaders of the Ritual movement, with whom in many ways I had become associated. It was a very excited time—a time of conflict, a soldier's battle, as it was often and not unfitly called, when it was felt strongly that any one attacked was bound to resist to the bitter end, and be ready to go to prison rather than yield in any point; that to resign would only strengthen the hands of his enemy, and encourage attacks. But serious considerations weighed with me—some peculiar to my own case. I had keenly felt the evil arising from a divided state of the parish. I had also, as I have said before, great scruples as to direct opposition to the bishop; and to be accepting kindness in defending me, while opposing the bishop's very strong convictions, aggravated this difficulty immensely. The bishop defended me, people said, not for my sake, but for the sake of his order, defending and vindicating the power of the veto. This was partly true; but it was all done with thorough generosity. He was disgusted by the intrusive action of the Church Association. None of my own parishioners stirring a finger against me, though withdrawing themselves from the Church (the promoter of the legal attack on me was in the parish, but not one of the congregation, and was an instrument of people without), I passed through a period of extreme heart's distress, anxious as to what I ought to do. It was clear that I could not go back on any point in the Church service, not merely as against all my own instincts and convictions, but also because I had publicly defended all the main particulars in the case of others—the 'six points,' as they were called. Of course, while the trials were going on nothing could be done; one had only to wait. But what to do eventually? It was thought that the bishop urged me to resign. This was entirely untrue. He never mentioned anything of the kind. Some friends, anxious for peace, urged me to give in. This idea it was not difficult to reject. Nor would it have been a difficulty still to resist, and persist against all opposition, had no questions arisen as to what was due to authority, or the peace of the parish, or as to how one should regard one's bishop's personal kindness in defending me, as in other matters. Hence came all the searchings and conflicts of heart.

"I suppose very few expected that the bishop would win his cause, and establish the Episcopal 'veto' against all comers; and this made the anxiety all the greater as to my own duty, taking for granted, as I did, that he would lose. When, most happily, he succeeded, I thought my course was

clear. The bishop had gained a great victory for the Church —a victory that ensured to bishops a power of defending priests against attack. He had done this by a great effort on his own part. He had pleaded the cause in his own person in Court. After this, to have continued to carry on the Ritual which had roused the storm, and which he strongly disapproved, which would have exposed him to reproach as upholding me in what he thought illegal, out of kindness towards me, this seemed altogether ungenerous and unfair, to say nothing of the question of dutifulness; I could not think the Ritual cause would suffer, the Episcopal veto having been gained; and these moral considerations came in, as I thought, sufficiently strong to decide me. I at once resigned."

It is pleasant to be able to add the following from Bishop Mackarness years after Mr. Carter's resignation, and when he himself was about to leave the Diocese of Oxford. It shows how the trying circumstances and differences had in no way affected personal relations.

"*Cuddesdon, January* 14, 1889.

"My dear Canon,

"It is a real pleasure to me to have a parting word from you and Clewer. We are to leave this dear home to-morrow, to stay a few days in London, and to find (if God will) a new abode at Angus House, Eastbourne. Old friends from the old diocese promise to look in upon us there, as occasion offers. My severance from the Sisterhood is one of my great griefs. Very heartily do I wish them all good in the future. If they are wise and patient, they have a noble work in the Church of England before them. I am reading your new statutes with much interest this morning; many thanks for the copy you have sent me. I must not say more than that I am, my dear friend,

"Yours in true affection,

"J. F. Mackarness (Bishop)."

The Clewer Case.

(Printed in the *Times*, April 5, 1880.)

"To the Editor of the 'Times.'

"Sir,

"If at a time such as the present I ask you to find room in your columns for the accompanying letter, it is

because few clergymen are loved and revered throughout the Church of England as is Mr. Carter, and the resignation of his benefice has given rise to feelings of widespread uneasiness, which it is on every account desirable to allay. How far the resignation of Clewer is a precedent to be followed by other clergymen whose circumstances may be more or less similar to those of Mr. Carter, and what such an act implies in respect of general loyalty and attachment to the Church of England, these are questions of practical interest to a great many people just now, and they are answered in the subjoined letter.

"I am, sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"H. P. LIDDON.

"3, Amen Court, St. Paul's, E.C.
"April 3, 1880."

"*Clewer Rectory, Windsor, April* 2.

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,

"In answer to your kind inquiries, I gladly state the leading circumstances of my case which have led me to resign, and which have seemed to me peculiar to myself, and unlike the difficulties now affecting others.

"The bishop has been, at much cost to himself, shielding me from three separate attacks pressed upon him, once under the Public Worship Regulation Act, twice under the Church Discipline Act. He has shielded me partly out of personal kindness, partly from his strong disapproval of these vexatious law-suits. From his own convictions, and his sense of duty in reference to these complaints, he could not at the same time but condemn me and urge me to give way. Though Dr. Julius had no ground to complain, living only a short time of the year at Clewer, and never having frequented the parish church, yet there are others who had a real ground to complain, having lived all their lives in the parish and been accustomed to attend the parish church, and these had been the complainers under the two earlier attacks. There are, indeed, several families of chief standing, socially speaking, in the parish, who have taken the lead privately in remonstrance to myself, publicly in these formal complaints to the bishop, who have therefore considered themselves to have real ground of complaint, though a far larger number of parishioners have sympathized with the changes that have been made, and have been thankful for them. I have been

surrounded by personal kindness all the while, yet I could not conceal from myself the divided state of the parish, or think that the bishop could possibly refrain from interference under these circumstances, though he has well fought the battle necessary to obtain the power, in the strength of which he could protect me, and would, as far as I have reason to believe, have continued to protect me to the end. This state of things is, I think, quite peculiar, and essentially different from that in which any of our friends who have taken a similar line to my own have been, or are now placed, or, I think, ever likely to be placed. I felt that I was laying down no law nor setting any example, having simply to consider what was fair and honourable in my own particular case, and that, whatever the consequences might be, I could only justify myself before God and before the Church by taking openly and avowedly the course which seemed to be fair and honourable. As between man and man, I could not allow myself to accept protection from the one hand and reject remonstrance from the other. I could not consent to be at once shielded by kindness and continue to act under disapproval. If between man and man this were simply intolerable, how much more between priest and bishop? If in any case dutifulness is to come in, it could not but be required, when between equals honour would have dictated it.

"I do not see how, under the circumstances, the bishop could have acted otherwise than he has done, when most desirous of protecting me. Nor could I have done otherwise, I think, than acknowledge my desire to show him all the deference I could consistently with upholding the cause to which I had devoted myself, or fail to relieve him as soon as possible from the strain to which I had subjected him.

"As the whole matter had been so public, I thought my reasons for acting as I have done ought also to be public. My case, moreover, is not at all like that of certain others who are contending against the Courts on the ground that they are not true Church Courts. I have had nothing to do with the Courts. My concern has been entirely with the bishop, and with the bishop acting of himself without the Courts, and indeed himself contending against the Courts, or at least refusing to act through them.

"Let me add a few more words as to another question which you think may possibly arise. I have no other thought

but to devote the rest of my days, as far as God permits me, to make the best use of the opportunities of usefulness that remain to me, within the bosom of the Church of England. To the Church of England, notwithstanding all its shortcomings and difficulties, I am unalterably attached, not only by early impressions and numerous pledges, but by convictions growing with growing years. And it would, I think, be only to repeat the grievous error which most unhappily scattered the early Tractarian host to be now impatient under the difficulties and possible losses that beset our witness to the truths we uphold, instead of waiting quietly to see, as they might have done, and what has proved to be an unanswerable fact, how, as of old, truth may avenge itself, and those who once doubted or opposed have become at last the foremost to defend.

"Believe me,

"Ever very affectionately yours,

"T. T. CARTER.

"The Rev. H. P. Liddon, D.D."

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO MR. CARTER.

"*Cuddesdon Palace, Wheatley, Oxon,*

"*April* 5, 1880.

"MY DEAR CANON,

"I do not know that I have ever read a letter with greater pleasure, or with more thankfulness, than I have read yours in the *Times* of to-day. Its perfect fairness of statement, and the thoughtful consideration for all who are in any way interested in the question to which it refers—alike in what it says, and in what it forbears to say—are beyond my praise. *O si sic omnes!* is all I can say, when I think of present controversies and the controversialists who conduct them. I would thank you for it with all my heart, but that I ought rather to thank God for the gifts of charity, candour, and loyalty to truth, which make such a letter possible. It gives me a fairer prospect of peace and spiritual life in the Church than anything which has come under my notice for many a weary day.

"I am only waiting for your letter to issue the Licenses to you, in respect of the House of Mercy, Hospital, Orphanage (there is no other chapel, I think)—to the first (I suppose)

CLEWER CHURCH IN 1844.
(*From a Water-colour Drawing by* W. INGALTON.)

CLEWER CHURCH, 1903.
(*From a Photo by* HILLS & SAUNDERS, ETON.)

as Warden, to the other two as Chaplain. Be so kind as to let me have the correct description of each institution for insertion in the formal Licenses. You will then be free to consider what date you will wish the formal completion of your resignation to bear.

"Believe me to be,

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. F. Oxon."

CHAPTER VIII.

LETTERS.

Love of Aged Parents.

"1867.

"My dear ——,

"I am very glad of your account, and earnestly trust you may be able to persevere. I feel sure you ought to take good courage and have a brighter hope. Your present state seems a stronger one than I have before known you to have reached. Go on, therefore, with the brighter assurance that you can put forth strength, and can maintain now a more steadfast discipline of inner life. You may do this and not find the loss of the Retreat, as God ordered it. I am quite ashamed of having let a pressure of things hinder my writing to you before, and now I am uncertain whether you may not have returned to England; and I regret my delay, as I fear you may have suffered from a continuance of the tried state you were in when you wrote. I do not think that I less care to be all that God enables me, only at these pressing times I find writing especially difficult. And now, my dear child, I would earnestly tell you that you must not dwell on thoughts which will revenge themselves in destroying your true peace. I am most anxious about your feelings toward your mother. I feel the trial of the present, but there is a special warning against our turning from parents in the days of their infirmities, and when from any cause they become a burden. It requires an effort of faith, but the remedy for present trial is to be found in thinking what they have been, what in one's own infirmity and faultiness when we wearied them, and what we can look for from God, if when we received life, this giving through them, we lose the grateful love and care which is the only possible recompense.

And, then, there are sorrows in a parent's heart, especially in a mother's; specially there may be in yours, which to think of at all cannot but move one's soul to its depths. My dear child, you will not forget that one deep part of the mind of Christ is that which feels now as fully and warmly as ever towards her who gave Him birth; and you will dwell on this, and not think of weaknesses and faults, things which may try you, nor shrink from self-sacrifice which it may cost now to 'requite' what you have received of her in your need. May God bless you in this care, and enable you to repair by increased thoughtfulness whatever you may have been wanting in.

"I am greatly sorry you have been tried otherwise, with the sad disturbance of mind you have known of old. That charge was a sad view to take; the mystery of God's love towards us, and the augury of life in us, is that, with such drawbacks and such hindrances, the very movement of grace, which so stirs opposition, is yet so widely spreading, and, I think, so surely now settling in amongst us. And it is enabling us to express what would otherwise have seemed mere theory—the blessed doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence and Sacrifice. It makes us feel more sure that God is bringing it out, and awakening a wider intelligent sympathy. The more blessed this is that there is so much to teach in humility and patience, so much that ought to breathe in us a spirit of quiet waiting for God Himself to do what He will in His own way and time. Your own personal life will not lose by the denials and far distant separation to which you are subjected, even though it be from sacraments, if you can but leave all, subdued and patient, and keep such rules as you tell me truthfully. To be thrown on yourself, then, and inner communion with God, tests you, and will indeed lead you to a deeper, truer work of grace in you, if you can still cherish hope. It will teach you to value much better what you may have had in time past and not used as well; and the past simple spiritual leaning on His love, with less of outer aid, is for a time not against the growth of your life. Trust me, my dear child, in this. I shall like to hear again from you, and if I can see you on your coming near, I shall be glad.

"Your affectionate
"T. T. C."

The Sin against the Holy Ghost.

"DEAR ——,

"There is but one sin that can shut out any man from the mercies of God, and that is the sin against the Holy Ghost; and the sin against the Holy Ghost means an impenitent and persistent rejection of all the working of the Holy Ghost, and all the witness to the truth which He gives. Where there is sorrow for sin and fear of offending God, there cannot be the sin against the Holy Ghost, for that sorrow and that fear are the work of the Holy Ghost in the soul. The very fear and despondency you describe prove that this sin is not being committed. What you describe is a morbid and diseased state arising from a weakened state and oppression after the conscience has been awakened; this the desponding nervous apprehension that not unfrequently follows a stirring of the conscience in weakened health. The remedy is to be found in steadfast carefulness as to duty, and active usefulness, and all natural interests innocently entered into, and to believe it is unreal and unfounded distrust of God. By taking all natural means of cheerful employment, such a person would be helped.

"I believe that the faithful departed are nearer to us than we ordinarily think, and there is a communion of thought and sympathy in ways we hardly know. They have ways of seeing and knowing in the light of God's Presence that we can now hardly conceive, and we may surely feel the intercourse, only believing that God hides from them what would pain them, and in some way reveals what would be a delight to them to know. Perhaps the angels may in some mysterious way minister between us and them. May God guide and bless you always.

"Yours, etc.,

"T. T. C."

With reference to the first point in this letter, "The Sin against the Holy Ghost," there is a sermon upon this awful subject by the Rev. T. T. Carter, which was preached in the Church of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Oxford, on March 6, 1863, and published by Messrs. Parker. The text was St. Matt. xii. 31, 32; and the opening words were, "One of Satan's chiefest snares is to make the soul distrust the mercies of God.

Where he fails to produce disobedience, he may cause distrust, or doubt, or despondency." Whilst the preacher acknowledges the awful doom of the guilty one, and, with St. Augustine, the difficulty of the passage, he describes the sin as the final rejection with "amazing hardihood" of Divine Tenderness and appealing Love. Though "like some dark orb in space, wholly eclipsing the sun, so this fearful doom traverses the face of Holy Scripture;" yet it must be remembered that this sin is not to be viewed as a "single sin, and so taken separately, but as a whole and complex state, the entire antagonism to the entire revelation of Mercy."

Latitudinarianism.

For many years Canon Carter held a leading position amongst those who held, or sympathized with, the "Catholic Position," as against Rome on the one hand, and the ultra-Protestant or Erastian view on the other. Hence it followed that questions would be from time to time submitted to him for his opinion or guidance. It was felt by many that the Tractarian leaders in Oxford, through long academic training and associations, were inclined to take a stiff and unbending line in their reverence for recovered truths, which required some modification and tolerance when these truths were applied to the masses in our great cities. Then the question would naturally arise how far this change was justifiable or not; whether it was necessary; how far it should go; whether it was a degeneration or healthy evolution of the original Tractarian position. There were not wanting those who felt that the change might be fraught with danger, and some wanted to be reassured of the historic claims of the High Church point of view.

We are allowed to print the following questions and answers, which will have something more than historic interest:—

"In answer to two questions: (1) At what point does the toleration of Protestant errors in the Catholic Church in

England become wrong and altogether unjustifiable? If the temporary phase of the present 'comprehensive' state of things be allowed—even in theory—to become normal, how is Anglo-Catholic 'tolerance' to be reconciled with the 'exclusiveness' of the true Church, and how is it to be marked off from popular nineteenth-century Latitudinarianism?

"(2) On the question of tolerance of error within the Anglo-Catholic Church, have not the present representatives of the Tractarians largely receded from the firm position taken up by those great men? And can such a change of attitude—if a fact—be justified?"

Canon Carter replied as follows:—

"*Clewer, September* 26.

"DEAR MR. ——,

"I quite understand the difficulty many may feel as to our Catholic position. I think our later history explains the question. When William of Orange came to the throne, all the High Church clergy, unable to surrender their oaths made to the Stuart family, were ejected from their livings; and the Broad Church party, with some few exceptions, came to the front. And the consequence was the deadness that prevailed during the last century, and the early part of the present century (XIX.). I say 'deadness'—I mean a much lower condition of things. When the Oxford movement of 1833 came, it was thought to be an innovation, instead of its being a true revival of the true Church of England. But then came resistance, as you must know, and since then it has been a struggle of parties. And we have at present to bear with this conflict, not as true to the Church, but as the consequence of the historic difficulty. We who hold to the higher Church line are the true descendants, as I hold, of the Reformed Church of England; and we have to bear with the Broad and Evangelical lines as imperfect representatives of the Church. It is not that the Church of England is comprehensive of different sides of truth or a compromise, but that the higher, being the true [side], has to bear with the lower condition of things, because this lower condition of things prevailed so long before the true and higher elements of the Church awoke. . . . I look on this toleration as a present necessity to be borne with, in hope of its becoming raised into the higher fellowship which possesses the whole

truth. It is not that we allow Latitudinarianism, but that we have to be patient with the lower condition, as an unhappy consequence of the history [and experience since 1833] of which I have spoken. I do not mind what some of the bishops now say. I do not think that we have receded, or ought to recede, from the Tractarian position, which is our true one.

"Believe me, very sincerely yours,
"T. T. CARTER."

Devotion.

"MY DEAR ——,

"I trust your home life is peaceful, and that you are exact in the fulfilment of all duties. Any special trials should be calls for patience and loving helpfulness.

"I suppose you keep some midday prayer, renewing spiritual desires at such times. And can you give more time for reading some helpful book—half an hour in the day at least? And it would be well to make some special grace to be remembered about midday and about five o'clock—

"Readiness to help.

"Endurance.

"Self-sacrifice.

"Prayerfulness.

"Thankfulness.

"To make more than usual intercessory prayers.

"To keep certain times of reading devout subjects daily.

"To offer each night thankfulness for any special blessing, or regret for any failing in speech.

"Nothing unnecessarily against another; care of thought; keeping off unkindliness of any kind to any one.

"Regularity in duties; carefulness as to any light matter.

"The grace—such as patience, perseverance, readiness to help. Contentment with things that come unexpectedly, and such-like. God bless you.

"Yours affectionately,
"T. T. C."

In another letter we find the following suggestions for *growth in grace*:—

"(i.) Thankfulness for past mercies; (ii.) Sense of joy in the love of our Lord; (iii.) Desire to please Him in all

possible ways; (iv.) Endurance of minor difficulties; (v.) Self-sacrifice in little details; (vi.) Thoughtfulness in prayer and thanksgiving; (vii.) Thoughts of Divine love and care; (viii.) Recollectedness of God's Presence through the day; (ix.) Thoughtfulness and steadiness in reading; (x.) Intercession for others, far and wide; (xi.) Desire for progress, upward and onward; (xii.) Possibly a day of prayer, and offering all things to God; (xiii.) Thankfulness for having been uplifted in prayer."

The Eastward Position.

The following letters are from a copy. We mention this as being unable to guarantee the accuracy of every word. The transcriber says, "I had much difficulty in making out his writing. The words in the second page, which I have *marked,* fairly beat me."

"*Clewer Rectory, February* 14, 1867.

"My dear Sir,

"I have to thank you for your kindness through your sister and for your papers which I have received. I have the second with much interest, and look forward to reading the other. I hope you will not think me obstinate in still holding my own, however serious such contentiousness seems to be, against such an assailant as yourself. I write frankly, and say where I feel your argument fails to convince me. I do not think you have allowed for the *history* of the Prayer-book, and so not taken into account how slight indications mark important meanings. The history of the insertions in the revision were often at least *gains* to the High Church view, yet only after a long period sometimes working themselves out. Thus, the insertion of placing the elements on the Lord's Table at the offertory has succeeded only in our own day to establish the credence and all its consequences, what the Greek Church terms the 'Lesser Entrance.' This principle, I think, throws on a new rubric (light?); *i.e.* it would show how the rubric of 'standing before,' etc., which here preceded the 'Consecration Prayer,' really involves the eastward position at the most solemn part of the service, though only a later generation might develop its full significance. Though I feel a certain difficulty in the expression 'before the people,' yet I cannot conceive the

mere ordering, in the sense of moving the elements from the centre to the north end for consecration, could have been the object of introducing that rubric, after more than a century's use without it. As to the actual rubric in question, what you admit on page 8 seems to me the justification of Walker's view. For clearly 'north side' is an idea connected with the *lengthwise* idea of the Holy Table—*down* the church. This latter would be, as you rightly say, the law view, but that Laud's move overruled it.

"But with this, the 'north side' idea seems to me also to go to the wall. The one falls with the other, for 'north side' meant the long position thus turned toward the north, and if this actual intention of the rubric must be given up in respect of the Holy Table, then I think it may as well be argued that SIDE is to rule the priest's position as that NORTH is to rule it. The Catholic (Church) position has always been for the priest to stand at the *long* side, as one ministering at an Altar table would naturally do, so that *side*, if we take Church custom, would more truly rule the point than 'north,' which is quite a new idea.

"But the truth, I suppose, is that neither determined it, but that the priest is left to return where ancient custom placed him, as the Altar returned to where ancient custom placed it. The matter is important, because, as far as symbolism is concerned, the idea of offering a sacrifice is most fitly expressed by the mid-Altar position and facing in the direction to which one most naturally turns as towards God. The basilica idea I suppose to be peculiar, and depending on the apse and corona of clergy, etc. I am afraid I have but poorly expressed myself, and must ask you to excuse a hurried expression of thoughts, yet they are what have been long deep at heart. I do not think that custom can rule such a point as this, if we consider the Puritan leaven in some, and the yielding to anti-Roman reaction in others, and only in our own later days, I believe, has the full meaning of the Catholic indication in the Prayer-book come to be fairly investigated; compare, *e.g.*, Wheatley's even, and Blunt's New Annotated Prayer-book. Pardon, I request you, my hasty way of expressing myself, and believe me, with sincere respect,

"Very truly yours,
"T. T. CARTER."

"*Clewer Rectory.*

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your sister kindly procured for me a copy of the number in which your paper occurs, and so I trust to possess as well as read it, and so with sincere thanks I return your proofs.

"I am sorry I cannot find an agreement with one so earnest and true as yourself, but there are so many different points of view. Certainly I long to find it true that we may without breach of law keep to the west side, for the 'north end' seems to me utterly wrong, on symbolic and Catholic grounds, and I believe I do not find the justification in the fact that the rubric, of which the 'north side' idea forms a part, is *abrogated*, particularly by the fixture of the Holy Table in the east end; and that north *side* never meant north end, but expressed an idea which cannot be carried out, happily because of Laud's move of the Altar, and therefore I feel we are free to fall back on the first Prayer-book rule of the 'midst of the Altar.'

"Nor can I think this position 'midst of the Altar' was singular, but that we represented what many in that day began to do, as part of the intended consequence of the removed Altar.

"Yours,
"T. T. C."

"*Barmouth, November* 8.

"MY DEAR S——,

"I am sorry I cannot have the pleasure of being with you at the Chapter, and must lose the benefit of the discussion. I do not reach home in time.

"On *No.* 1 I suppose there will be a general unanimity, and I trust it will be carried *nem. con.* in favour of the Episcopal Veto. On *No.* 2 one should be thankful to hear the minds of thoughtful men. There are, of course, several points included under it.

"On one point, as to which much has been said from different sides, it has seemed to me that the case is clear, viz. that according to the terms of the IMPLIED contract between Church and State, as well as to statutes touching the royal supremacy, the Final Court of Appeal is the Sovereign's Court; even if it was composed of the whole Episcopate it would still be the Sovereign's Court, because they would sit,

not as a Synod, but as a body convened by royal authority. In this respect, therefore, it would make no difference whether the members of such a Court were clerical or lay, because the authority which convened them would give to the Court its character.

"To suppose that there would be one Final Court to deal with spirituals, and another with temporals, so that a man might be upheld in the former and condemned in the latter, would be out of the question, because one cannot separate the power of ministering from the property held by the minister. So far it seems to me clear. The difficulty arises as to the component members of this Appeal Court. I have been accustomed to think that a Court composed of lay and ecclesiastical persons would be best, as ensuring the two requisites of such knowledge as experts only can have, and such experience as practical lawyers only can have. But one knows the objections that lie against this under our present circumstances, considering the divisions among Churchmen, whether bishops or professors of theology, and it may be that the lay body of judges, with power of application to the Episcopate on points of doctrine, may be the best scheme. And considering the learning and care and fairness shown in the Commission Report, we might, I think, well trust them for having done the best that could be done under the circumstances.

"Where the shoe pinches is the possibility of the Archbishop's Court being forced to reverse its own decision, and inflict penalties on a priest whom it had previously judged true and faithful. One sees no help for this, except in the archbishop's refusing to act and taking the consequences. But will any one do this? Is it not possible that the archbishop may say that he has to act ministerially, and so has no responsibility, as we know to have been done in kindred cases? In this case the only remedy would be a remonstrant and recalcitrant Church.

"But there must be trust somewhere; and it may be that we must trust to the fairness of the Court of Lay Judges, and that no such Appeal Court will again say that there is a 'not' to be read before 'retain and be in use,' in the Ornaments Rubric, in order to understand it.

"I see in this week's *Guardian* that T. W. Perry, whose opinion on this question is worthy of all respect (in a report of the St. Albans' Diocesan Conference), proposes that the 'Lay Court should not be at liberty to vary the judgment of

the Provincial Court upon any direct or indirect interpretation of doctrine or ritual which is inconsistent with the interpretation relied on by the Archiepiscopal Court.'

"But how, then, if the hands of the Appeal Court are thus to be tied on, perhaps, the very question at issue, would there be a Final Appeal Court at all?

"I am afraid, living here in idleness, I have allowed myself to run on to an enormous length, and must have sorely wearied you. But the subject you propose is deeply interesting.

"Believe me, ever most sincerely,
"T. T. C.

"I am afraid we are in a great *fix*. If Parliament deal with the question, it will probably do away with the Episcopal Veto—our chief safeguard.

"If nothing is done, the Church remains in the hands of Lord Penzance."

"*Clewer, November* 5.

"My dear S——,

"I am sending a brochure of mine. Some years ago I expressed what conclusions I could gather as to vows touching Religious Communities. I always thought that a dispensing power resides in the Church as part of the absolving power. Vows may be taken rashly or ignorantly, and if this be quite clear, it would seem that the mercy of God would be extended to such persons if there were reasons sufficient against keeping such vows, and then the Church, through her priests, would absolve from the guilt incurred in the act rashly and ignorantly done. As to vows in 'religion,' those of obedience and poverty, of course, have reference to the state of life. If for any reason the state of life came to be impossible, as, *e.g.*, overstrain, or from any really necessary course altering the circumstances and powers of the person to keep them, there would be a necessity for freeing the person from any guilt. The rule of a society would properly, I suppose, lay down some principle touching the case. The vow of 'chastity' or celibacy is a different thing, and is, of course, more of a personal character, and so more difficult to deal with, for it might be kept after one could no longer remain in Community. As to this, one can only say that the Pope has exercised a dispensing power even in this matter in extreme cases. You know the difference between

'solemn' and 'simple' vows; how any bishop can absolve from the latter, the Pope from the former. But all this implies that the Church generally has acted on the principle of a dispensing power being matter of discipline within the range of the Church's authority. As to Brotherhoods now being formed among us, I feel vows to be a very grave matter, and I am strongly inclined to think that there should be greater caution exercised before perpetual vows are taken. It would not be well, as far as I can judge, except after a long probation, and might be approached as a final step, if approved, after a period of periodical vows had been passed through. I can fancy a Society in which perpetual vows were taken by some, and periodical vows by others, as the more usual practice, or as the Oratorians do—the vow of love freely taken.

"Can you kindly throw any light upon this most anxious question of the archbishop's jurisdiction, or can you say what Bishop Stubbs thinks, or your dear brother-in-law? To me it is the most anxious question that has been raised.

"Can we reject the growth of the power of Metropolitans, which certainly took place in early days?

"Is it possible that the whole body of bishops of a province would sit on a practical matter for weeks and months, as a Court, in any individual case? Must not councils be —— to be of force? And if so, however get a verdict? And in our case would there not be an appeal from such a Court to the Crown? And would not such an appeal be a far more damaging matter, if taken from a Synod unanimous of the bishops of the province, than from the archbishop?

"I cannot but say that I am profoundly anxious at the state of things, and should be thankful for any light upon it. I am delighted to add my quota.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"T. T. C.

"Can a bishop rightly act as assessor if he thinks the jurisdiction unsound?"

This letter, written early in the eighties by Canon Carter, and difficult to decipher, shows how at that time questions about jurisdiction occupied his attention and anxious consideration. Mr. Carter advised submission to

the Lambeth opinion, though retaining the use of incense in processions, and in places not touched by that decision. He did not regard it as a hard-and-fast rule. In this respect he was in accord with the late Bishop of London, Dr. Creighton, who is said to have given permission for its use on the Dedication Festival in one of the churches expressly connected with that ruling. Mr. Carter felt strongly that the "six points" which had been so long contended for ought to be contended for still. But whilst he felt this, there were practices or developments which he regarded as "un-English," and had no desire that these should find a home in our Communion. He held, we gather from a letter to Mr. C——, that "the judgment about ceremonial use of incense only touches parish churches."

"The archbishop evidently thinks it will go on with permission on State occasions. I think the archbishop's appealing to the first three hundred years, when incense was in all the temples around the Christians, as showing the law for the Church, was a pity. It would hardly be used by Christians when the heathen were in full use of it. I think some have exceeded the course; one would have wished to have been kept back. The archbishop's request is, I suppose, for peace sake, and because of the extravagance of some. I have always thought that along with the written law there was an unwritten tradition, and that incense was such. But certainly it is only a few years it has been used among us liturgically."

The opinion that the ruling laid no moral obligation upon Religious Communities to change their use where the services are not open to the public (which Mr. Carter strongly held) may yet be called in question, if the chaplains and the buildings are licensed by the bishop; but it is not likely that bishops would trouble themselves to apply the "opinion" in such cases, and the institutions may have chapels in various dioceses.

There was a strong anti-Roman vein in Canon Carter's character, which may be traced in other parts of this volume.

He always regarded the Oxford movement as not Romeward; but as a return to primitive doctrine and practice, which was the standpoint of the old Tractarians. He had, however, a delight in a beautiful ceremonial—a natural delight as well as that which arises from the conscious uplifting of the soul to the beauty of the worship in the Courts above.

He regarded the present condition of things as "a real medley" as to Church government. Thus in a letter, bearing date 1899, he writes:—"It seems to me unlike the early time when bishops consulted their presbyters. They now act separately, even individual bishops, different from one another. It is a real medley." And he then refers to the archbishop's letter on the marriage question, and his fear of any mere accommodation to State action.

It has been already said that in Mr. Carter's character may be traced a great dislike of hard-and-fast lines. This comes out again in a letter, dated 1897, on the Divorce Question. Writing to a priest, he says—

"I feel the difficulty you so clearly feel. I cannot take ——'s absolute line. I have thought there is justification for that resolution of Convocation, in not liking to extend the absolute prohibition to those believed to be the 'innocent party.' I have thought there is some weight in Bright's line. At the same time I would earnestly desire that no such marriage should take place in our churches, in the face of our Marriage Service.

"But with the thing done, in such a case as your letter describes, I should be disposed to be lenient, *i.e.* to allow the girls to visit, but to avoid as much as possible too close intercourse with the elders. I suppose this could be done, at all events for the present time. What I mean is, that there might be partial intercourse of a friendly and social kind, but short of what could have been if no such hindrances. I suppose that a certain allowance must be made for the law of the land *in the special case*, where the Church does not pronounce an absolute bar, which seems to be the character of this case. I do not know whether you may think this all well.

"Your very loving
"T. T. C."

It will be seen by his correspondence his intense love for the Church of England, and how every kind of controversy which affected her touched him. The following letter bears the date January 17, 1898, and was written to an old and close friend:—

"MY DEAREST ——,

"I am wondering whether you have read the letter on Anglican Orders by the Cardinal and Roman bishops. But I must first express my delight in thinking of you and yours in our old quarters. It is really most delightful to think of you there. I know all in and around your present home. I am thinking what enjoyment it must be to you all. Kindly give my best wishes to the landlady. I can see you going about, and am very thankful to think you have fine weather. I can see you all going about the Esplanade, the Gardens, at the Library, and along the lanes, and can journey with you in your expeditions. I will let you know what passed at the meeting at Oxford about the question of Religious Communities. But to return to my first sentences. They (the Romans) meet us face to face at the telling point of the 'Real Presence,' and all seems to me to turn upon a difference of view. It is thought out thoroughly. It must be met as thoroughly. It goes into the whole matter, bit by bit, and asks the question—do you believe? Do you think the archbishops will meet it? They must meet it thoroughly, or we fail before the world. They go on the full quasi-material view of transubstantiation, as against our doctrine of the *Real* Presence. I should like to know how *you* think it may be met.

"Ever yours,
"T. T. C."

The following letters bring up again Canon Carter's conservative lines of thought:—

"MY DEAR ——,

"I am so glad you are sending out another edition of that book. It is a happy sign of the 'traditionary' theology holding its guard against the new ideas. I am just reading D.'s sermons on the Old Testament. How sad it is to see how he minimizes the Divine side of it, and throws

the weight of his argument into the new literary view! I have read with great delight Robertson's Blair Lectures. Surely they will tell. They seem on such solid ground. I saw Bishop S. last week before he went off, and we had a good talk. He began to see the danger of these modern criticisms, as I thought before he did not. He spoke of the patchwork of J. E. P. in making up the Bible. We got upon the new ideas about Baptism and Confirmation. He inclines rather in a way to this, on account, no doubt, of P.'s influence, which he acknowledged. I hope this restlessness of new ideas will pass over. The solid ground will surely hold its own.

"Ever yours,
"T. T. C."

"My dear ——,

"What do you think of an idea that has come pressing itself on my mind—to send an address to the archbishops and bishops, stating our conviction that the Higher Criticism so called is 'not proven,' and is founded on a false view of the Holy Scriptures; that we grieve at the distress caused to the faithful at the infidelity fostered and upheld by such criticism, and praying the archbishops and bishops to uphold by all means in their power the traditionary view of Holy Scripture, specially as to Mosaic records, and of the absolute truth of the words of our Blessed Lord concerning them. An address simple and true, to be signed by twenty or thirty priests; if possible, one at least from all the dioceses. It seems to me that we ought not to let it go by without some protest directly aimed at it, and an appeal to authority to discountenance it.

"Ever your affectionate
"T. T. C."

Notwithstanding the manifest difficulties in the wording of a Declaration upon the extremely difficult subject of "Inspiration," Canon Carter with his friends succeeded in carrying out his purpose, and the document was drawn up and signed by eighteen clergymen, the name of Dr. Bright being among them. We print a copy of this document.

A Declaration on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture.

The undersigned, deeply sympathizing with the distress and disturbance of mind which have been widely felt among Church people generally, and in particular by many theological students, in consequence of the unsettling effect of recent discussions on matters connected with the criticism of the Bible, have ventured to put forth the following *Theses*, under the conviction that they express truth which form an essential part of the Church's belief, and in the hope that when published they may tend to clear the issue, and be found to indicate with sufficient plainness the attitude which Churchmen may adopt in the present controversy.

I. By Inspiration is meant a special action of the Holy Ghost, varying in character and in degree of intensity, upon those writers from whom the Church has received the books included in the Canon of Scripture, by which those books were directed to certain Divine purposes, and protected from all defects injurious to those purposes.

II. The main purpose of Holy Scripture is generally to reveal truths concerning God and man, and in particular to bear witness to our Lord Jesus Christ. It fulfils this latter purpose, as in other ways so specially, by being the record (1) of the preparation for Christ's Incarnation by the selection and supernatural training of a chosen people; (2) of His manifestation when "The Word dwelt among us;" (3) of the results of that manifestation, viz., the Coming and Presence of His Holy Spirit, the revelation of His mind in Christian doctrine, the building up of His Church on the foundation laid by and in Him, the communication of the fruits of His redemptive work, and the promise of His appearing and His kingdom.

III. The several books of the Old Testament were delivered to the faithful of the Old Covenant, to whom God had revealed Himself through the oral teaching of His messengers and prophets; and were retained as "Holy Scriptures," "able to make men wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus," when the several books which make up the New Testament were successively entrusted to faithful Christians, baptized and instructed in the Church of God, which is "the pillar and ground of the truth." The way in which Holy Scripture has been

sometimes isolated, by the attempt to use it as the sole ground of faith and without the precedent condition of belief in Christ and fellowship with His Church, has been the cause of much misconception and confusion.

IV. The frequent reference made by our Lord to the Old Testament in support of His own claims, or in illustration of His teaching, is decisive in favour of its inspiration in the sense defined above.

V. It is certain that all the words of our Lord were always the most perfect words for His purpose, and that the forms in which they have been recorded for us are those which are best adapted to the needs of the Church.

VI. Since the Human Mind of our Lord was inseparably united to the Eternal Word, and was perfectly illuminated by the Holy Spirit in the discharge of His office as Teacher, He could not be deceived, nor be the source of deception, nor intend to teach, even incidentally, for fact what was not fact.

VII. The Divine revelation set forth in the Bible is progressive, and issues in the final manifestation in the New Testament of God's truth and will. The Bible taken as a whole possesses conclusive authority in matters pertaining to faith and morals.

VIII. The Church has never authoritatively formulated what she has received to hold concerning the scope and limits of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture; and it may even be said that there has not been a complete unanimity of view among her accredited teachers in regard to some points connected with that scope and those limits; but the undersigned believe that at least so much as these *Theses* express has been held "everywhere," "always," and "by all."

George Body, M.A., D.D.,
Canon Residentiary of Durham.

H. R. Bramley, M.A.,
Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Prebendary of Lincoln, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln.

William Bright, D.D.,
Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

T. T. Carter, M.A.,
Hon. Canon of Christ Church, and Warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer.

W. M. G. Ducat, M.A.,
Principal of Cuddesdon College, Vicar of Cuddesdon, and Rural Dean.

C. W. Furse, M.A.,
Canon of Westminster.

David Greig, M.A.,
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Charles Edward Hammond, M.A.,
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W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A.,
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F. W. Puller, M.A.,
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A. J. Worlledge, M.A.,
Canon Residentiary and Chancellor of Truro Cathedral, Proctor for the Chapter, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Truro.

The "Higher Criticism."

"*April* 21, 1892.

"My dear Friend,

"I am most grateful for the kindness with which you have treated the suggestions on which I had ventured. One feels how great is the opportunity connected with any reference to Dr. Pusey's teaching; and as the volume in question has become (most naturally) very popular, I thought that a second edition might be imminent, and that it would be a good occasion for considering the series of extracts, as well as for making some points clearer, or increasing the 'orderliness' of some statements.

"I have forgotten what that letter of mine was, to which you so kindly allude. I did, indeed, feel that the sixth and seventh lectures involved some very perilous speculations, and disappointed some hopes which one had entertained as to 'redeeming the occasion' in reference to points which had been, to say the least, unsatisfactorily treated in the Essay. I was particularly disappointed by finding that the book had been sent so soon to press. The consequence was, that the notes were strangely meagre, and that language which had seemed to give a one-sided and exaggerative account of the so-called Κένωσις had been left without due revision and qualification. Then the Atonement was a conspicuous defect in a volume on the Incarnation. But when a report of a Lenten sermon appeared professing to explain what the sacrifice of Christ was in itself, and 'the preacher' at the same time expressly declining to discuss its propitiatory character, one's anxiety was inevitably increased. Any average lawyer in the Temple church congregation would infer that whatever in the doctrine of the Atonement went beyond the idea of a 'perfect act of obedience,' *i.e.* of the most complete and illustrious martyrdom, might be neglected as a nicety of professional divines.

"Another anxiety has been caused, I feel, by the theory that there is no 'indwelling of the Holy Spirit' *in the baptized as such.* At any rate, a soul may be 'in Christ' and yet not 'in the Holy Spirit;' may be regenerated, yet have no presence of the Life-giver; may be grafted into the body mystical, yet not indwelt by the Spirit, which is the very formative principle of that Body; and then, as it seemed to me, a separation will be established between the work of the Son and the work of the Spirit, to the great disturbance of theological

unity. Why do Cambridge Churchmen instinctively attempt to strike out lines of their own, and seem to ignore the logical consequences of their own premises? The theory in question will have its natural outcome in a denial of baptismal regeneration.

"Yours affectionately and gratefully,
"W. BRIGHT."

The following contains also criticisms on the "Kenotic" theory:—

"I had hoped that the opportunity, a very great one, would be so used as substantially to remove the anxieties which, as is well known, had been caused by the Essay. The larger part of the book fulfils this hope, when one allows, as in fairness one must, for the very modern *tone*, unlike the traditional Churchly and 'Tractarian' tone, in which the book is written, and which causes a jar, almost a shock, in readers belonging to an older school; but we must remember that the author is a man of modern Oxford, and that he would not have got the hold that he possesses over many men of the present generation in the University—a hold that has unquestionably been most beneficial to many souls—if he had been simply a disciple of Pusey—perhaps of Liddon. Each mind has its own needs, and they must be dealt with in the way appropriate to its conditions. But after this is fully allowed for, I, at any rate, am constrained to dissent very earnestly from language used in the fifth and sixth lectures and in corresponding notes. I do not in the least believe that our Lord's condescension involved any limitation or contraction of the Godhead itself, as if He not only, 'as touching His manhood,' held certain powers in restraint, but absolutely gave up *all* perfectly Divine activity, and, by consequence, all perfectly Divine life. This would mean a *humanizing* of His Divinity itself—temporary indeed, but real while it lasted; and such an idea I conceive to be not only incompatible with the Catholic view of the Incarnation, but with consistent Theism itself. Yet this action is, unless I misunderstand a combination of passages, what is intended. The author does not write with sufficient clearness; he uses repeatedly ambiguous terms; he seems to be misled by false analogies, and not really to appreciate the logical issue of his own position. Even in an argumentative point of view he disappoints one by vagueness and inconsecutiveness. But the

graver aspect of the case is this—that some momentous sayings of our Lord are explained away, and some of the objectionable suggestions of the Essay, as to the Old Testament, are reiterated, and the 'Kenotic' theorizings go beyond what has been already advanced. A way of speaking of our Lord's condescension is commended, which, I fear, must lead to conclusions which will *eat out* faith in a Christ personally and immutably Divine. The author himself would most earnestly deprecate this result, but when a ball has been set rolling, disclaiming will not arrest its course.

"Yours, etc.,
"W. BRIGHT."

Canon Carter was, it will be seen, strongly opposed to what is called the "Higher Criticism," especially in its extreme form. His great reverence for the Word of God, and his fear of injuring faith in those who had been accustomed to regard the Bible as above criticism, were roots of this opposition. Besides this, the "Higher Criticism" of the Bible had become associated with a view of the Incarnation and Atonement which he regarded as defective and erroneous. He had not the time, nor perhaps the taste, to enter upon minute investigations of the sacred text. Moreover, he agreed with the accepted view that none but Hebrew experts, who had been specially trained and had "superior capacities of linguistic penetration," were capable of expressing opinions "that deserve to be received," upon the language of the Old Testament. Mr. Carter's great age alone is not an adequate account for his opposition to the new theories. Though very old, he had a wonderful freshness, and was attracted by young life and thought. He was heartily in accord with Dr. Liddon in the line which he took in that celebrated sermon preached at St. Paul's on Sunday, December 8, 1889, entitled, "The Worth of the Old Testament," and he feared the effect upon the religion of the country, that faith would become unsettled about Divine Revelation. He was anxious that some steps should be taken to hinder this disastrous result. When "Essays and Reviews" was published, the archbishops and twenty-four bishops issued a letter to condemn the opinions which were put

forth in that work. When Colenso published his criticism of the Old Testament, Bishop Gray excommunicated him. Mr. Carter was desirous now, that some step should be taken, not against persons, but against the new opinions, which seemed to him to undermine the Word of God, and, it may be, obscure the doctrine of the Atonement. He had before taken a leading hand in drawing up "Declarations," when some portion of the Church's doctrine was assailed or obscured, and he thought this a proper occasion, and had been in communication with Dr. Liddon and Dr. Bright and some other leading divines upon the matter. Dr. Pusey had been shocked by "the changes in the text of Holy Scripture in the Revised Version in 1881," which, he thought, weakened passages bearing upon the Divinity of our Lord. We cannot doubt what his feelings would have been had he been now alive to see the extremes to which some "higher critics" have gone in dealing with Holy Scripture!

The difficulty, however, of drawing up any declaration which would exactly meet the case was suggested by Dr. Bright, whom Canon Carter consulted. It appears that the latter did not at first see the main point to be objected to in the new teaching—that which concerned our Lord's Incarnation and Sacrifice. Mr. Carter, in a letter to a friend who had called his attention to this most serious difficulty, says—

"I quite feel with you; I forgot to say I did not see the mention of restraint in the Godhead—certainly I never saw anything of this. Did I tell you our bishop said to me that the author's 'line touched the Atonement.' I supposed him to mean as a consequence of the suppression of the Divine Power.

"I am rather carefully going through M.'s work. I thought I ought to do so, as he gave it me. It is interesting to see the various views of different parts of the Church. It is wonderful to me how he could expend such immense pains on such minute details, when I fancy one leaves off much as one begins. The Western tendency has long been, as he says, to exalt baptism. I fancy this will continue.

"I dread with you the growth of individualism. It seems

to me very blameable to popularize the new criticism in such a heavy way as —— does."

Dr. Bright, in his reply to Canon Carter, puts clearly the difficulty of framing a protest, as there are very different degrees or levels of higher criticism.

"My dear Friend,

"I am not at all qualified to attempt any criticism of the paper which you have so kindly sent to me, for I know very little of the *writings* of the 'Higher Critical' School so called. Of course, one has heard a good deal about their 'results,' although one has not been cognizant of the processes in detail.

"I think, however, that I may suggest a query: Is not the language of your draft a little too general? The 'results' are, as indeed your second paragraph admits, of various 'degrees.' Will not those who criticize the address, when it is made public, be tempted to ask for more precise information as to the propositions objected to?

"Then, again, if the bishops are asked to uphold the 'traditionary view of Scripture,' how much does that phrase include? That Moses wrote the whole Pentateuch? That there is no combination in it of narratives varying in date, and to some extent in character? That the legislation called Mosaic belongs entirely, in all its details, to the period of the wanderings? That Ecclesiastes is undoubtedly Solomonic? That no part of the Book of Isaiah is of a date later than his time? That the same is the case with the Book of Daniel? And that (allowing for a free use of 'phenomenal' language, such as still is common, sunrise and sunset, and otherwise for an absence of scientific accuracy in such matter as the account of the Creation) there are no historical errors in the Old Testament? Such questions will certainly be put. Would it not be well to provide against them? Bishop Ellicott, as you know, admits modifications and corrections in the 'traditional' view. Much turns on the value of such modifications; and is your draft meant to exclude them, in the main, from acceptance? Will you ask the Episcopate to ignore them absolutely? What would be the result of such a request on the minds of a good many of the younger clergy, who desire and intend to retain their faith, but who are persuaded that some points have been made by criticism against the 'traditional view' as a whole?

"I dread the effect on such minds, and on the minds of other Churchmen, of that general, and, if unqualified, uncompromising 'conservatism' on (and Archdeacon Denison, I fear, has unconsciously done harm in this way) these subjects. The questions of authorship and of date seem to me subordinate, in comparison of *the* crucial question—given that this or part, say, of the Mosaic history or legislation is post-Mosaic, perhaps by several centuries—Do you, or do you not, believe that the history is substantially true, and that the legislation, supplementary as it may be to what is in a fuller sense Mosaic, is at the same time an exhibition of the Divine intentions for Israel, and not a mere unauthorized stereotyping of existing [usages] or a composition, under falsely claimed sanction of practices which seemed edifying to the compilers, whether under Josiah or after the Return? In short, the results of criticism, which seem to me, as far as I know them, truly destructive and pernicious, are not really [interests] of chronology, or conclusions of numbers, or comparative studies, as they might be called, of the contents of this or that prophetic or historical book, tending to new views as to authorship, but such as proceed from naturalistic premises, and the Old Testament as simply so much ancient literature, representing the 'evolution' of Hebrew religion apart from any directly supernatural oversight and guidance. This is, I imagine, the real issue. Does the Old Testament represent the action of a supernatural inspiration, or does it not? One has to use, even here, terms which may be used in some inadequate and misleading senses; but still one knows what one means by them. One means that 'prophecy' is something more than the forecasts of spiritual genius, and that the 'law,' even supposing that its different parts were put together at different times, was yet substantially an expression of the mind and will of God for the chosen people, and in this sense really 'spoken by' Him.

"Our Lord's use of the Old Testament is again a matter on which one must 'distinguish.' I mean that whenever He argued from a particular proposition regarding the ancient Scripture in support of His Messianic claim or teaching, He set His seal to that proposition, and made it indisputable for His servants. *This* is what I think we are bound to contend for. Whether on other points as to what He did not teach explicitly or implicitly, His mind took cognizance of all the questions which criticism can raise or has raised, is a matter on which we are not informed, and which does not in the

least affect our loyalty. This letter has extended to a length considerably beyond my intention.

"Your ever affectionate

"W. BRIGHT."

It would appear from the following letter that Canon Carter had entertained the idea of appealing to the bishops to put out some manifesto or some judgment. As we have no copy of the letter to Dr. Liddon, the reply will appear a little obscure.

"*Taunton, October* 4.

"MY DEAR CARTER,

"I have read your letter with the deepest interest. While I feel the force of the considerations which you urge, it is difficult not to be anxious lest any effort of the kind proposed is not sufficiently in the bishop's way to have the desired effect. His great power is moral, religious, devotional; the presentation of a case, and all the attention to system, sequence, logic, and, more or less, law, which would be required, seems to be less likely to be at his command. And a failure, or what the world might deem such, would be criticized in the harshest manner. Perhaps he might be able to do virtually what you suggest in the form of a Charge, or of a printed letter to some one.

"Your most affectionate

"H. P. LIDDON."

The following letter was written to the present Archbishop of York when he was Bishop of Lichfield. It is, of course, inserted here with his Grace's permission.

"*Clewer, April* 18, 1890.

"MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

"May I venture to offer you my very sincere thanks for your Charge, which I have read with very real pleasure and helpfulness. It will come to many as a strength and stay, and I am sure there is a cause, from much that comes to me from various quarters.

"It is indeed strange and most sad that such a trouble should have taken root in P—— House; this, too, in alliance with Keble, and with the support of both Dr. Pusey and the

Bishop of Lincoln's successors. Probably we may have to look to Cambridge to supply a remedy, and to meeting the attack on scholarly grounds.

"With very much respect, and trusting you will kindly excuse my writing,

"Believe me, my dear Lord Bishop,

"Very sincerely yours,

"T. T. CARTER."

The following letter may be inserted in that it concerns a book which has since become famous. It is addressed to the editor of a newspaper.

"MY DEAR ——,

"I am about to ask a great favour, if without any variance from your rules you may be able to grant it. It is that you may allow Mr. —— (one of the writers for the paper) to review the volume which accompanies this note. It is not that I wish any favouritism in regard to it, only I think he would be interested in the scheme. The volume is a carrying-out by one of my staff of a plan which I have long had at heart—a manual of a Catholic type of instruction for English Church people. Leaving it entirely to your kind discretion,

"Believe me, yours sincerely,

"T. T. C."

This request was graciously granted. We have frequent evidences of the great interest and care which Mr. Carter not only bestowed on his own works, but also upon those which he edited. An instance of this at once occurs :—

"I wanted to say that the statements as to the Communion of Saints are being changed. I felt it was much wanting, and got M—— to cancel what originally appeared, and put in two new pages. This he has done, and in what is being printed off this new bit will appear. S—— has had great encouragement; in fourteen days 2600 copies have been sold. It seems to want a few additions if a second edition is called for."

Canon Carter was evidently anxious about the book

which we have just referred to. In another letter, shortly after, he writes again to the same friend.

"I think I told you that S. was bringing out what I have long wished—a manual of instruction for the masses, especially the more intelligent of them. Would you kindly look over the part on the Sacraments, and please vary or correct anything. I am anxious to get all the help we can. Bright corrected the history part. P. also had his say, and will you kindly return it as quickly as possible, as he has begun the printing, and is getting on quickly.

"Ever yours,

"T. T. C."

As Canon Carter wished everything to be thoroughly discussed, and any defect pointed out, so when an article or paper was sent to him for his opinion, after critical examination, he would spare no trouble in commenting upon it. The following letter will reveal this. Something had been sent to him, pertaining to the Roman Controversy—we do not know what it was, or by whom it was written; but the letter reveals the great care he took in examining it and declaring an opinion, whilst the *obiter dicta* in the letter are very significant. We ought to say, in case there should be any verbal mistake, that the letter in question is most difficult to decipher.

"*Roman Controversy.*

"My dear ——,

"I have gone rather accurately through this MS., and without speaking of or committing myself to every detail, it seems what I should feel to be true, and no doubt it touches on the main point on which this unhappy controversy turns, and it does so searchingly well, and in a telling way. But to one point of the Papal Supremacy I think it would want a good deal of correction to make it quite accurate. Puller's book on the Primitive Saints, etc., would set some of it right. But on the doctrines taught in Rome, speaking generally, the main details are well taken. But as to publishing, I do not feel able to judge. It might be useful

to some, but I do not feel the highly controversial exposures tend to much result. L.'s book was said to be useful. I have no experience of its having been so. It would depend, I suppose, on the *how* and the *where*.

"I have not myself much faith in this kind of discussion, though no doubt there is need of exposing details, and assuredly if details are overpowering to any one who is influenced by them, and looks at the controversy as a question of *truth*, which so few seem to do, they are important.

"Yours,

"T. T. C."

This seems to us a very important letter, as expressing in some measure the author's mind on the Roman question.

Mr. Carter would open his mind very freely to any one who consulted him upon literary work, not only in giving suggestions to help others, but to consult with any whom he knew well, and to express any sense of difficulty which arose out of the subject. He was very kind and eager about whatever he undertook. We have many letters about a Memoir which a friend had induced him to write. He was most anxious to find out everything he could, in order to give a faithful account of the character and work. He was at first afraid that there would not be enough matter. There are "no letters nor anything to show his mind, nor anything like the reminiscences you mention." You want, in writing a life, "events to hang anything upon," etc. Yet his creative powers did not fail him in using what afterwards came to his hand. Canon Carter's gift for that difficult species of literature, biography, had been well attested by his "Life" of Harriet Monsell. Those who knew her best will endorse this statement. The "Life" of such an extraordinarily gifted woman would be a severe test of the powers of portraiture. But there were "events" upon which to "hang things"—her marriage, her widowhood, her "self-consecration in sorrow." Her width of mind, her warmth of heart, her spirit of devotion, her capacity for work, her artistic powers, her radiant brightness, her quick sympathy, needed one like the late Warden and Founder of Clewer to perpetuate her memory, as

he has done in the book "Harriet Monsell: a Memoir," published in 1884, and since in several editions.

We have before quoted letters which prove that Canon Carter did not encourage *direct* addresses in prayer to the Saints. In the following letter we come again on the same theme, and with a little difference, which may need explanation:—

"DEAREST ——,

"The Retreat is now over. B. gave it. It was very good and appreciated. He took our Lord's Intercessory Prayer. I enclose what Davidson has just sent me. I suppose I cannot get more, but will ask D. when I see him. Nothing disloyal would be meant, but there are those who may use such terms unadvisedly. Sister L. M. was buried on Thursday. She was truly saintly. The cold blasts, I suppose, hastened her end.

"I have been looking over past letters. I feel with you as to what you say about the 'Communion of Saints.' I hope the revision of the article may be satisfactory. We must further change slightly, not concerning prayer *to* Saints, but lean on Pusey's line, *i.e.* if God would put it into their heart. Ten thousand copies are sold, and the new edition will be ready in about a week, with this alteration. I cannot see my way to *direct* invocation of a Saint, but I could address desires, as, 'O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord,' and commit the desires to the company of Heaven."

Perhaps a reference to "Notes and Questions on the Catholic Faith," compiled from the works of Dr. Pusey (A. D. Innes & Co.), may help to clear what Canon Carter means. On page 100 of first edition it runs:—

"Is it wrong or vainly superstitious for any, in their private prayers to God, to express their desire to Him that the Saints may pray for them?" And the answer is, "It would be very difficult to prove that such a desire, expressed to God in prayer, could be wrong in any way."

We think this passage throws some light upon what is meant in this letter. It is a subject about which Mr. Carter

exercised great caution. The fear of in any way obscuring the office of the "One Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus," seemed to outweigh all other considerations. He took a strong grasp of a doctrine, as laid down in Holy Scripture and taught by the Fathers, as, *e.g.*, that of the Mediation of Christ, and therefore was on his guard against secondary mediation. The distinctions of later days that Christ was Sole Mediator *proprie dictus*, or by His Nature, Office, and Merits, but that, though there was only One Mediator in these respects, there was a ministerial mediation of the Saints, leaning on Christ's Merits, he might regard as a refinement, and a refinement which had certainly led to great excess. He was aware that we might read "through volumes of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom" and find "no mention of any reliance except on Christ alone."

But besides what Canon Carter felt as to the great danger of this ministerial intercession—that it might obscure Christ's office as Sole Mediator between God and man—there was the further question, whether the Saints "knew the details of our wants," and whether the belief that they hear men's prayers is not trenching upon an Attribute of God. Such points as these would weigh with Canon Carter, and make him feel that the line of the English Communion in this was cautious and wise. Yet, on the other hand, he would be keenly alive to the fact that such direct intercessions were not only permitted but encouraged by the Latin and "Eastern-Catholic" Communions; and that the Holy Scriptures teach us that there is an offering from a golden censer in Heaven "by (?) the prayers of all Saints,"[1] and the smoke of the incense is said to ascend up before God "by (?) the prayers of all Saints;" and that St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in the fourth century, speaks of a prayer to God "to receive their petition by the prayers of the Saints."[2] But notwithstanding this, and possibly having sometimes to resist pressure from some of highly developed devotional instincts, the Warden of Clewer would remain loyal to the standard of his own Communion.

[1] Rev. viii. 3, 4. [2] Lect. xxiii. 9.

We think this a palmary instance of loyalty, because of the practice of other districts of the Catholic Church on the one hand, and, we regret to add, the dulness in ourselves in regard to the article of the Creed, "the Communion of Saints," on the other, which has been ascribed to the cessation of direct addresses to them.

It must be added here, that even with regard to the ceremonial use of incense, about which Mr. Carter felt very strongly—for the beauty of the symbol and its Scriptural sanction, and the practice of the Church throughout the world, appealed to him with great force; yet he would not counsel standing out against the bishop's orders, if he brought the "opinion" to bear upon them, even in the chapel of Religious Houses, which he believed the judgment did not touch. In the following extract from a letter to one who held charge in a large Sisterhood, this statement is borne out. Canon Carter writes:—

"This judgment is an anxiety. It practically condemns one of the 'six points' for which, with Denison, I contended, now many years ago. I can only look at it as for a time, and for parish churches. I cannot conceive it settling the matter but for the present. I do not see that it touches Religious Houses, which have always had their separate uses. I suppose men must see what their own bishops do, and for the time obey their bishops. It seems to me a breach of the Catholic system. But I have always regarded Communities as separate things. If our bishop presses it on us, we must accept it. But I do not suppose he will. The chaplain at —— uses incense every Sunday. I talked it over with the Superior, and she will tell the bishop when she sees him."

We are anxious, by these extracts from his letters, to give and preserve his mind upon the vexed subject. It touched a prominent feature of his character—his love of beauty. This love of natural beauty is conspicuous in his correspondence. In the midst of other subjects, seemingly absorbing, the tints of the trees, or the blueness of the sea, or the pure splendour of the stars, or the fragrance of flowers, or the singing of

birds, or poetry, or architecture, or painting, would suddenly appear and attract his attention, and call forth a radiant expression of delight. The next letter we take up affords an illustration of Canon Carter's delight in scenery. He is describing a little fishing village where he stayed :—

"A remarkable place; the fishermen seem to be the aristocracy of it, and the villas, jotted on the hills, are occupied by men who have returned to rest, after small fortunes made in their calling—natives of the place; a good church, daily service, early celebrations on Sundays and Saints Days, coloured stoles, altar lights. There are curious contrasts here and there. In the next parish, a very retired village, is a church as old as the Conquest, perfectly unrestored, with a 'three-decker' and dilapidated chancel. Then we drove to another church, where the 'six points' are kept, though no censing congregation, and vestments only in linen; a very pretty vicarage, fields and gardens around; then from an eminence there is a most picturesque view—a long headland, a range of cliffs beyond; above are various walks about the cliffs on both sides; very interesting view, with points to look out. I am reading Sanday's Bampton on 'Inspiration,' most interesting, a very devout view, moderately done, of the 'Higher Criticism.'"

Here is the love of scenery and the sudden transition to the religious problems of the day, which is a marked feature of Canon Carter's correspondence—of course, he is writing mainly to those who share his interests, and live for the same objects; but this does not do away with the fact that his letters are revelations of his mind and character.

Canon Carter's interests were many-sided. His earnestness reached out in many directions, as he watched the signs of the times, in politics as well as in religion. Thus in a letter to a clergyman upon parochial matters we come upon the following :—

"Are not the election returns most striking? The Welsh Church, I suppose, safe—the mover of the antagonistic measure losing his seat. It was, I imagine, English feeling

rising up against revolution. Is it not remarkable that Gladstone's name does not seem mentioned? The glamour has passed with his personal presence. What a lesson for greatness, when it goes astray!"

Again, in another letter —

"What a remarkable 'subversal' of Gladstone's past! His personal influence gone. His schemes fall to the ground: very sad in a man's old age!"

Canon Carter, although he led such a busy life, had always some book on hand, to fill up any vacant hour. He was no great student of patristic or scholastic divinity, but he kept himself well abreast of the thought of the present time. Very valuable guidance as to modern works and the choice of them may be gathered from his correspondence; whilst little escaped his eye which was in the columns of the *Times*. When he was staying at Budleigh Salterton, he writes:—

"I have been re-reading Ottley's 'Bamptons.' They are worth it. I cannot but accept his general view, not meaning to say as to all details. Did you see the *Times* yesterday? —very important as to the marriage law; the Bishop of London's letter, as well as the judgment of the bishops, worth much consideration. I wonder whether the archbishop will answer ——'s attack."

Another glimpse, about the same date, of a visit to Devonshire:—

"We passed two days in Exeter with the Oxenhams, and had the restfulness of the cathedral each day, and one of the canons—Canon E.—learned in all that the cathedral embodies, showed us over it—all in beautiful order. Then one day we had tea with the dean, after service, who is able to be at home in the summer, and reads the second lesson in his impressive way. He is bright and pleasant, as you probably know. We came in here, a retired place, after six miles' drive from Kingsbridge. We have lodgings high up, looking over the whole winding reach of inland sea at flood-

tide, and a good deal of sand beach at low tide, but with beautiful windings. A boat out to the sea yesterday, and a drive inland to-day, make up our movements."

He was much touched by the death of Mr. Shaw Stewart. He says :—

"Dear Shaw Stewart, it was very sudden. He had two nurses, and his daughter who comes to St. Stephen's, so critical it all was. It is a most serious loss. We had just elected him one of the treasurers of the House of Mercy. He was admirable—quite a pattern!"

With regard to the "Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament," Mr. Carter, who was, we believe, Founder and Superior of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, did not go the whole way with those who may have desired the restoration of this practice for the purpose of Benediction and adoration. We have a letter before us, bearing no date, in which he says :—

"I suppose always the retention of the Blessed Sacrament required the bishop's permission. You know that I never can feel satisfied that we have any right to reserve except for the sick, when our Lord's object was evidently for Communion."

Canon Carter, when a Sister was suffering from cancer, and so frequently troubled with sickness, that when the morning came it might be impossible for her to receive, wrote to the bishop, asking, under the circumstances, for permission to reserve the Sacrament, so that she might be communicated when the sickness passed, and Bishop Mackarness kindly granted his request, but limited the reservation to forty-eight hours. Bishops, too, gave permission for reservation in the time of the cholera, "that the *viaticum* should be easily and readily obtained by the poorest and most suffering of our people in our dense populations." Canon Carter felt, too, that the practice "in the sister Church of Scotland was a point in favour of such reservation." He never could understand why

the bishops seemed to shrink from granting this boon, if distinctly assured that the reservation would be for no other purpose than to communicate the sick and dying. No doubt their hesitation arose from the fear that some might turn the retention of the Sacrament to some less primitive use, or, that the safeguards for the due protection of the Blessed Sacrament from irreverence might not always be sufficiently provided. When Mr. Carter reserved the Sacrament with episcopal sanction, it was kept at Clewer on the altar in the old chapel.

There were occasions when Canon Carter's historical knowledge enabled him to clear up perplexities, as, for instance—

"My dear ——,

"I should think with you that ——'s statement is not a fair one, and is one-sided. It is founded on the confusion between Convocation meeting as a Synod, and the same body of men meeting for voting taxes. From Edward's time the king had summoned the latter, and, to save trouble and time, the custom had been long settled that the writs should go out from the archbishop; for the former from the king, through the archbishop for the latter, *at one and the same time.* After the Submission of the clergy, both writs were issued from the king. This I believe to be the truth." (See Dixon, "History of the Church of England," vol. ii. p. 471, etc.)

Before the Submission the clergy had been summoned to their own assemblies, the Convocations, by their archbishops, who issued writs in that behalf. But after the Submission it had been enacted that they should be summoned, like the temporal assemblies, only by the authority of the king's writ. Dixon, in a note, refers to Canon Stubbs, who in his great work observes that the parliamentary question could only affect those Convocations which were called by the king's command, and that there were many convocations not so called before Henry the Eighth (25 Henry VIII. 19) ("Const. Hist.," iii. 320).

Canon Carter had a wide way of dealing with doctrinal difficulties. "I am accustomed," he says, writing to a friend who had in some measure made the study of Eschatology his own, "to answer the objections urged as to the ultimate issue of things, by saying, that we have two lines to keep, the one of fear, the other of hope, that we cannot entirely reconcile them. We must leave this to God; but that we must keep hold firmly of the former, as the traditionary teaching has certainly done; that beyond this we have not any power to go." Yet he strongly opposed Universalism. This is evident again and again in his letters. *E.g.*: "I hope you will strike at ——'s book. Since Juke's book, it is, I think, the first avowed declaration of an English divine (for Farrar has disclaimed entire Universalism) of that position, and coming from one in his circumstances, it seems to me serious." The Bishop of L. "disapproves of the work." He finishes the letter by asking a question: "Can G—— be right in saying that St. Peter is 'the Rock'? for this he certainly accepts. We do not know. Probably the passage referred to is p. 76, 'Roman Catholic Claims,' but it is not very clear; it may be remarked that Tostatus,[1] a great authority in the Roman Communion, and the author of a voluminous commentary on the Holy Scriptures, extending to thirteen folio volumes, understands the rock as not Peter, but the faith and confession of Christ, agreeing with St. Chrysostom, 'Ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, in fide et confessione; ædificatio est super petram, ideo non est super Petrum.' Though this is only an incidental reference to the controversy, in fairness it should be stated that if our Lord spoke in Aramaic, probably our Lord would employ the same word in both cases." Mr. Carter, in the controversies of his day, had always a quieting influence, and was always fair. His mind would take in all sides of a subject, and he would try to see the good points in those from whom he differed. In the following letter these features were evident; it is again about "Lux Mundi." His humility made him

[1] St. Matt. cap. xvi. Quest. lxvii.

consult inferior minds, and sometimes, perhaps, give undue weight to individual opinion. In the midst of the unfortunate controversy about "Lux Mundi" he writes to a friend:—

"I should like to know your mind. D—— having been foiled in his endeavour to get Convocation to take up the 'Lux Mundi' matter, and also finding E. C. U. unable to deal with it, is now set upon getting up an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by certain names. He is corresponding with G—— about it, and he will seek to get a meeting to consider it. I have told him I would go to such meeting, if a few only present, and very privately. I have said to him that I should think, if such an address is to be drawn up, there ought to be a recognition of what is good in the book, and also a disclaimer of anything against such criticism as Lightfoot carried out in the Tübingen matter. D—— would rather say nothing of this kind of allowance. What do you think of such a move? Certainly the book in its main principles is of too rationalistic an order—is it not? Yet how many like it! Dear ——, whom I saw on my way through Exeter, liked it much, and would regret any move against G——, he likes him so much personally. I have just re-read the essay on the 'Development of the Incarnation,'—very thoughtful, very well written, full, very impressive. Evolution is taken as the unquestioned truth, and that the Bible must be made to square with it. But it is written best."

Retreats.

Mr. Carter had a way of consulting others upon matters, of which he himself was a master. We have letters from the Bishop of L. and Father B. replying to such inquiries, and deprecating the idea that they could instruct the Warden of Clewer, who was not only in the habit of giving Retreats to clergy, Sisters, and others, but had written an Essay on the subject, and seemed in a special degree, as was acknowledged by all, to possess the *ethos* which appeared to be necessary for the success of such devotions. The Bishop of L. replies to one of these letters of inquiry in the following letter:—

"*Cuddesdon Vicarage, August* 23, 1869.

"My dear Mr. Carter,

"Thank you for your kind letter, but pray do not ask me about Retreats. I have only given a very few, and always with a very great reluctance. As to the point you propose, I have thought of it, and it seems to me that there may be different kinds of Retreats, the kind depending both on the conductor and the people attending. As to the people that attend, when they are able to obtain information, or are elderly, or in the habit of thinking and knowing, I should think the object would be to draw them off from the idea of adding to their knowledge by a more spiritual contemplative meditation without the element of instruction. But in some places, where they are beginning, it has seemed to me a great opportunity to give instruction, and even to point out the means of gaining information on some subjects, as, *e.g.*, the Patristic authorities for Absolution and Confession, frequent Communion, Commemoration of Departed, etc. Or even ways of meditation, prayer, arrangements for intercession, preparation before and thanksgiving after celebrating. Many do not clearly know what to do on such points, and, as the conductor, I have always openly considered them on two lines, 'consideration' and 'contemplation.' This I got from St. Bernard, and adopted it; not as the better way, but as the more honest for me.

"I think many young conductors might take the consideration-instruction line, who could not honestly yet reach the more truly contemplative meditation. If I may add a word more, I think we all value most highly the very high way in which you have conducted the Retreats, and I for one would say, and I believe others would join with me in saying, we should be very sorry for you to change your way.

"I must take the opportunity of asking you if it would not be possible to have a meeting of priests to give us instruction regarding cases of conscience, how to deal with vows, discipline, etc. I should very much value this, and perhaps that is the real answer to the question why the spiritual life is a science progressing and so dividing, so that we now want *spiritual Retreats* for priests; and also instruction for priests separate. Pray forgive my writing so much.

"Yours very affectionately,

"Edward King."

"*Dôle.*

"My dear S.,

"It was much on my mind as I left, what pressed on yours. I can remember, on first venturing to give a Retreat, that I felt just as you were feeling. I do not suppose it is a reason against venturing to give a Retreat, and one can hardly choose the kind of Retreat to give first; so that should you be at all disposed to yield to the request, I think you may well take courage. Your habit of thought would be the best preparation, and seem to mark you out for such work, and I cannot wonder at your being asked. I suppose there would be a good line in the mysteries applied to the special difficulties of the devout in the world, such as reconciling the highest love of God, and the aim at perfection, and the life of prayer, and the hidden life with domestic and ordinary calls and claims.

"I should be glad if, amongst other things, you could support my injunctions, about which I am anxious, to ——, as to short sermons. He seems a remarkably simple man, but wanting in mental ways manifold. I had urged him very specially to preach a short sermon, about twenty minutes, in the morning last Sunday, as I try to do on the first Sunday in the month. He told me afterwards that he intended to divide his sermon, and keep to the time I had wished; but he was so carried away by the good congregation that he was tempted to give them the *whole*. I really think it is a simple kind of earnestness. We came on from Paris here to-day, and to-morrow hope to reach Neufchatel. We had a clear day in Paris. I unfortunately missed the Mother. She had not arrived. Beautiful weather. Trust all is well with you.

"Your affectionate
"T. T. C."

Confession.

The following paper on Confession was written in 1852. From the number of erasures in it, it is difficult to decipher, and it is therefore possible that every word might not be exactly in accordance with the original, though the manuscript has been carefully read.

"The argument on the vexed subject of Confession has been brought within a narrow compass. It turns on the

question whether the principles laid down in the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. still hold good or not. Mr. D. considers that the Second Prayer-book marks an essential change of principles, which he supposes continue in force up to the present day, and a statement which came with no ordinary authority in an Episcopal charge has taken up the same ground. In proceeding to remark upon this view, I trust that I may be animated by similar courtesy and the same gentle spirit which characterizes Mr. D.'s handling of the subject, especially in the very kindly references to statements made in my late letter. It is a sincere gratification to discuss such a subject with so fair and Christian an opponent.

"All are agreed that under the terms of the First Prayer-book confession to a priest was equally free to use or not to use; and if to use, to use frequently or infrequently as occasion might arise. It is urged that the changes made in the Second Prayer-book unsettled this concordat, if such it may be termed. The answer generally given to this plea is this, and one often urged as sufficient—that on the Act ordering this Second Book, the First, which it superseded, is declared to be 'agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church,' and very comfortable to all good people. It is from this urged that there could be nothing in the First Prayer-book which can be considered to have been condemned and in principle, at least, set aside by the Second. But Mr. D. argues that to interpret the above words of the Act in this sense is 'erroneous, and to miss altogether its true significance.' His reason for this plea is that the Act further declares the changes to have been made 'as well for the more plain and manifest explanation hereof, as for the more perfection of the said Order of Common Service.' Mr. D. implies that one part of the extended explanation, and perfectly contemplated in the Act, is to alter the doctrine of Confession, or at least further limit its use.

"For this assumption there appears to be no ground whatever in the Act itself. The reason given in the Act itself for the changes made in the Second Book is that 'a great number of people abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches,' that 'in the use and exercise of the Common Service in the Church, heretofore set free, divers doubts for the fashion, etc., of the same had arisen;' that in some places it is necessary to make the same prayer and fashion of service more earnest to stir Christian people to the true 'honouring

of Almighty God;' and at the close of the Act penalties are enacted against persons who should 'hear and be present at any other manner of Service, of Common Prayer, etc.' The object thus set forth to be considered by the explanation, perfectly and clearly made, relates to the Public Service of the Church. Any other intention that may have actuated the authors of the changes referred to is in no way connected with the subject of Confession; but the introduction of the General Confession and Absolution in the Second Book is another matter.

"The object of this addition is evident. It was intended to supply a solemn form of confession, and a declaration of the terms on which alone absolution could be given, which were continually kept before the minds of the people by being expressed in the Daily Service, as well as made in the Exhortation of the Communion Service, and in the Visitation of the Sick.

"The most important are the changes made in the Exhortation in the Communion Service. They will best be seen by placing it as it stood in the First Prayer side by side with how it stands now, 1849 and 1552.

"The chief alterations are (1) the entire omission of the concluding paragraph, etc."

The following Declaration on the subject of Confession was written with exceedingly great care, and after much correspondence and consultation. Violent discussions had taken place upon the subject, chiefly amongst those who had no personal experience of the matter. The idea of "licensing duly qualified Confessors," who should be especially trained and fitted for this delicate portion of a priest's ministrations, in order to prevent unsuitable persons from undertaking the office, instead of quieting the storm, caused it to rage more vehemently. The "Declaration," which was the product of such minds as Pusey, Carter, and Liddon, whilst claiming most clearly this ministry in the Church of England, were careful, it will be seen from a perusal of it, to keep within the limits assigned to it by the Book of Common Prayer. We need not enter fully into the subject. This weighty document was written twenty-six years ago. We print

it *in extenso*, and content ourselves with adding a few letters written at the time of its production. "Pusey," we are told, "spent more thought over this Declaration than over any other work of the kind in which he had been engaged."

It appeared in the columns of the *Times* in 1873, and was reprinted in 1877.

Declaration on Confession and Absolution, as set forth by the Church of England.

We, the undersigned, Priests of the Church of England, considering that serious misapprehensions as to the teaching of the Church of England, on the subject of Confession and Absolution, are widely prevalent, and that these misapprehensions lead to serious evils, hereby declare, for the truth's sake, and in the fear of God, what we hold and teach on the subject, with special reference to the points which have been brought under discussion.

1. We believe and profess, that Almighty God has promised forgiveness of sins, through the Precious Blood of Jesus Christ, to all who turn to Him, with true sorrow for sin, out of unfeigned and sincere love to Him, with lively faith in Jesus Christ, and with full purpose of amendment of life.

2. We also believe and profess, that our Lord Jesus Christ has instituted in His Church a special means for the remission of sin after Baptism, and for the relief of consciences, which special means the Church of England retains and administers as part of her Catholic heritage.

3. We affirm that—to use the language of the Homily—"Absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin,"[1] although it adds, "by the express word of the New Testament it hath not this promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands," and "therefore," it says, "Absolution is no such Sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are."[2] We hold it to be clearly impossible, that the Church of England in Art. XXV. can have meant to disparage the ministry of Absolution any more than she

[1] Homily "of Common Prayer and Sacraments."
[2] Ibid.

can have meant to disparage the Rites of Confirmation and Ordination, which she solemnly administers. We believe that God through Absolution confers an inward spiritual grace and the authoritative assurance of His forgiveness on those who receive it with faith and repentance, as in Confirmation and Ordination He confers grace on those who rightly receive the same.

4. In our Ordination, as Priests of the Church of England, the words of our Lord to His Apostles—"Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained," —were applied to us individually. Thus it appears, that the Church of England considers this Commission to be not a temporary endowment of the Apostles, but a gift lasting to the end of time. It was said to each of us, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands;" and then followed the words, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained."[1]

5. The only form of words provided for us in the Book of Common Prayer for applying this absolving power to individual souls runs thus:—"Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great Mercy forgive thee thine offences; And by His authority committed to me I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."[2] Upon this we remark, first, that in these words forgiveness of sins is ascribed to our Lord Jesus Christ; yet that the Priest, acting by a delegated authority, and as an instrument, does through these words convey the absolving grace; and, secondly, that the absolution from *sins* cannot be understood to be the removal of any censures of the Church, because (*a*) the sins from which the penitent is absolved are presupposed to be sins known previously to himself and God only; (*b*) the words of the Latin form relating to those censures are omitted in our English form, and (*c*) the release from excommunication is in Art. XXXIII. reserved to "a Judge that hath authority thereunto."

6. This provision, moreover, shows that the Church of

[1] "The Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests.'

[2] "The Order for the Visitation of the Sick."

England, when speaking of "the benefit of absolution," and empowering her Priests to absolve, means them to use a definite form of absolution, and does not merely contemplate a general reference to the promises of the Gospel.

7. In the Service for "the Visitation of the Sick" the Church of England orders that the sick man shall even "*be moved* to make a special Confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter." When the Church requires that the sick man should, in such case, be moved to make a special Confession of his sins, we cannot suppose her thereby to rule that her members are bound to defer to a death-bed (which they may never see) what they know to be good for their souls. We observe that the words, "be moved to," were added in 1662, and that therefore at the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer the Church of England affirmed the duty of exhorting to Confession in certain cases more strongly than at the date of the Reformation, probably because the practice had fallen into abeyance during the Great Rebellion.

8. The Church of England also, holding it "requisite that no man should come to the Holy Communion, but with a sure trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience," commands the Minister to bid "any" one who "cannot quiet his own conscience herein," to come to him, or "to some other discreet and learned Minister of God's Word and open his grief, that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with," and therefore as distinct from, "ghostly counsel and advice;"[1] and since she directs that this invitation should be repeated in giving warning of Holy Communion, and Holy Communion is constantly offered to all, as the most precious of the means of grace, it follows that the use of Confession may be, at least in some cases, of not unfrequent occurrence.

9. We believe that the Church left it to the consciences of individuals, according to their sense of their needs, to decide whether they would confess or not, as expressed in that charitable exhortation in the First English Prayer-book, "requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general Confession, not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret Confession to the Priest; nor those also, which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences particularly to

[1] Exhortation in the Service for Holy Communion.

open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general Confession to the Church: but in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity; and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences; whereas he hath no warrant of God's Word to the same." And although this passage was omitted in the second Prayer-book, yet that its principle was not repudiated, may be gathered from the "Act for the Uniformity of Service" (1552), which, while authorizing the second Prayer-book, asserts the former book to be "agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church."

10. We would further observe, that the Church of England has nowhere limited the occasions upon which her Priests should exercise the office which she commits to them at their ordination; that to command her Priests in two of her Offices to hear confessions if made, cannot be construed negatively into a command not to receive confessions on any other occasions. But, in fact, since the Christian ought to live in continual preparation for Holy Communion and for death, the two occasions specified do practically comprise the whole of his adult life. It is notorious that a long succession of Divines of great repute in the Church of England, from the very time when the English Prayer-book was framed, speak highly of Confession, without limiting the occasions upon which, or the frequency with which, it should be used; and the 113th Canon, framed in the Convocation of 1603, recognized Confession as a then existing practice, in that it decreed, under the severest penalties, that "if any man confess his secret and hidden sins to the Minister for the unburdening of his conscience, the said Minister shall not at any time reveal or make known to any person whatsoever any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy, except they be such crimes as by the laws of this realm his own life may be called into question for concealing the same."

11. While, then, we hold that the formularies of the Church of England do not authorize any Priest to teach that private Confession is a condition indispensable to the forgiveness of sin after Baptism; and that the Church of England does not justify any parish Priest in requiring private Confession as a condition of receiving Holy Communion, we also hold that all who, under the circumstances above stated, claim the privilege of private Confession, are

entitled to it, and that the Clergy are directed under certain circumstances to "move" persons to such Confession. In insisting on this, as the plain meaning of the authorized language of the Church of England, we believe ourselves to be discharging our duty as her faithful Ministers.

"*Clewer Rectory*, 1877.

"My dearest Skinner,

"The enclosed is the result of many and long consultations with Pusey and Liddon, and mainly their work. We thought to get about twenty names, avoiding any identified with the extreme party. Mackonochie would sign, but mainly the rest are men of other minds.

"Pusey will send it to the *Times* with a note from himself, when signed. We should be most glad if you would sign. Is there any one you would specially think of as signing? I heartily trust you are better. My love to your dear wife. I keep well, I am thankful to say.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"T. T. C.

"What a wonderful week at All Saints!"

"*Christ Church, Oxford.*

"My dear Carter,

"I have kept the enclosure a long time, but I have been working against time. My own idea is that it would be best to proceed by written propositions, which would bear no name at all, but as to which the Council might be asked whether they were orthodox or not. In those statements we might include certain statements in excess, which we might declare we do *not* hold, and which, although we could not ask them to repudiate, would thereby be authoritatively declared not to be *de fide*.

"I have made some progress in making such propositions. If such propositions were acceptable, the next step would be to publish them in England. . . . It would be an enormous step forward. . . . It would be a πού στώ.

"The worst of a conference is, that the Romans have no thought except of individual submission. They have no idea of our being very happy where we are, and having no personal need of incorporation into the Roman Church.

They look upon such conferences as proposing terms on one side, and their acceptance on the other, upon which persons, more or fewer, are to join the Roman Church. I did, however, explain this to the Archbishop of Paris and Mgr. Dupanloup, who understood us. Could we have a talk over your sermon, which Liddon, Courtenay, and many thoughtful persons would like to procure?

"Yours affectionately,
"E. B. PUSEY."

There appears to have been on the part of some a desire to omit the quotation from the Homily in the Declaration. Thus Mr. Carter says—

"I am writing to Pusey to press the entire omission of that quotation from the Homily. I have come to think it would be best. Will you let me know what you wish, and what you will do in case it is omitted. I have also asked to alter 'who, as God, forgives sins,' which I think an unfortunate expression.

"Your ever affectionate
"T. T. C."

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,

"I do not see how anything can be done. I have felt anxious not to moot the question of the 'sign.' But I could not see any way to omit the passage. I have always felt that that sentence, 'Absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin,' is the most authoritative one, indeed the only one positively affirming the sacramental character of absolution. It would be imperfect, I should feel, without it. I feel it is enough to indicate (?) that it is in the Homily. It would be quite open to you, or to any one at any time, to question the statement of the Homily on that particular—we are not committed to it. Wagner noticed it, but nobody else has. Wagner does not sign, but this is on other grounds. He, like some others, seems to hold that Confession is a *necessity*, and would, I suppose, go beyond the Formularies. I should be grieved if you cannot sign. But I would not press you, dearest friend.

"Ever your affectionate
"T. T. C."

"My dearest Friend,

"I sent your letter on to Pusey and urged the leaving out the passage about 'imposition of hands.' I send you his reply. P. and Liddon have united in it, as you will see. Scudamore, whom I told it was under consideration, urges not withdrawing it. I suppose we must accept the Homily as it stands, if we draw an argument from it as to sacramental virtue, which I feel is very important to do. I urged an objection against the clause 'except such crimes,' but it was felt that we are responsible, as this thing stands as it does, and it might be urged that we are not true in quoting a part, and not all. What do you think? Let me hear.

"Your ever loving friend,

"T. T. C.

"I have heard at the end an alteration, which I think an improvement, throwing it on the Formularies, etc." [1]

"My dearest S.,

"I have been disappointed in my hope of seeing you before leaving home. You will have heard that I have been pressed to stay away longer. I am anxious that this should not delay your departure, as that would additionally grieve me if your time of absence were shortened on this account. I should at all events have seen you hurriedly. I do not know whether there is anything that you would wish specially to say of any one, or matter, but if there be any, perhaps you would write a line. I will endeavour to take up what you leave. I know you will have done all that is possible, and I thank you very heartily. I am trusting that the Mother will kindly arrange about the Bishop of Gibraltar, whom I had hoped to have received at the Rectory, and I think had told him so. I suppose he will come down from Town for the day, as I am sure L. would give him a bed. I wished to have been there to assist you that day. The Mother said something about parish matters, that I should have to make up my mind to. If there is anything to be decided, I shall be very glad to know your opinion. But I do not think —— can do anything, he has so little weight with any one. I have been writing a reply to Archdeacon

[1] There is a paragraph at the end in Mr. Carter's hand, to the effect that private confession must not be *enforced* by parish priests as indispensable for forgiveness. This important restriction Mr. Carter was *always* strongly in favour of.—Ed.

Freeman. I do not know what people generally think, but I have felt that new venture (?) a most serious thing. I was stirred to take it up, though I can do little. I hope others will do more. Petition to Convocation I should think most important. How cleverly the judgment was put to save themselves, while yet freed to acquit. I hope we shall not hear of disturbed minds from the doctrine being thus made an open question, though some, I fear, will take occasion. But it is surely a great step towards establishing the truth. Did you know C. of Plymouth? I fell in with him the other day; a broad, kind-hearted evangelical. I saw also W. of Plymouth. My best love.

"Affectionately yours,
"T. T. C.

"Do you know M. Landriot's *Conferences on the Holy Spirit*? I am accustomed to associate St. Basil and your work at All Saints. S. A. is anxious to translate some book, and I got her this. It is full of interesting matter, subjective and practical. She has translated it very well. It is full of life, not special doctrines. It is a great interest to know what will come of that decision about 'invocation.' Did not the matter arise about the B—— School? I suppose only indirect mode of intercession can be sustained, but that surely can be. I feel truly with you that the Oxford Movement is much ignored, but I fancy it will revive, only if the bishops do not rise to it, that will give great power to the ultra-party. I wrote to —— demurring about the 'Divine Right' of the Papacy. I think the whole matter will pass, and I do not expect to hear anything more from the Pope about our Orders. Cardinal Vaughan has squashed the effort, and L. H. feels it. It is interesting to know that so many French clergy and others can keep alive to *Anylo-Romaine*[1] lines (?)

"Canterbury seems to go straight at a point, and then leave it. He has not known the questions which arise to priests, and is still the schoolmaster. York has had parochial experiences, though his dealings with priests in their difficulties in actual life may bring up matters which are new to him.

"I have been reading D.'s book. How wonderfully elaborate it is. I see, I am sorry to say, G.'s wholesale acceptance of his criticism. Do you think it can carry the day, and rule for the future? I can hardly think it. It makes

[1] This was a French magazine in the interests of Re-union.

such complete revolutions of all our ideas of Scripture and our Lord's practice. I am so glad of those articles against it and those 'leaders.' I am just taking up Pusey's 'Daniel' again. It is refreshing, and he saw the whole result of the German criticism, and argues against it on literary and historic grounds. Will this rise up again and prevail?

"As to this move, I am surprised at the Bishop of —— accepting Evening Communion, and at his ideas about laymen. I quite agree that laymen cannot go into doctrine. The *Pilot* comes to us now, but I cannot read more serials. I see a change in the G——, and am sorry L. left it. It seems now so different. I have thought that the archbishops are acted on by the threat of the interference of Parliament. We have just heard from 'Willie,' from his See in Zululand. He was met at the boundary of his diocese by twenty clergy and three hundred people, and escorted in a waggon after they had a service by the way."

"*The Sign of the Cross.*"

In the "Private Prayers for Boys, especially at Public Schools," compiled by Rev. Herbert L. Jones (Skeffington), Mr. Carter wrote a short introduction. In this the following passage is to be found:—

"Whenever you find this ✠ in a book of prayers, it signifies a suitable occasion to make the sign of the cross. . . . If you make this sign, neither hide it nor parade it; but remember how great and sacred an event it is the sign of, and always be ready to give a reason for making it."

Some wished the remark concerning the sign of the Cross to be omitted, and the compiler wrote to Mr. Carter to ask whether he ought to accede to such a desire. The following was his reply:—

"*May* 23, 1897.

"DEAR MR. ——,

"I would not give way on such a point. It seems to me to be a simple means of marking off as a religious act the use of the prayer. Several wished me to

omit this sacred sign in the 'Treasury of Devotion.' I would not give way. I do not think it has lessened the sale. At all events, it has kept its ground, and it makes a great difference. There is a feeling (?) and strange disinclination amongst our people against outward signs, excited in this respect against the simplest and holiest form. And I think it is better for those who prepare devotional books to keep to it. In the simple mind it is of great importance to mark off the devotional from the ordinary, and it is by this simple means this is done.

"Ever sincerely yours,
"T. T. C."

On Spiritualism.

To a Lady.

"*Stafford, October* 7, 1875.

"My dear ——,

"I am staying here for the Congress, but I hope I shall catch you before you leave. I have heard a good deal of the spread of this belief and some cases of its effects. I am disposed to think that there are links that connect us more than is ordinarily thought with beings of another world and unseen powers, both in our bodily and mental constitution, and that they are nearer to us than we can well conceive, and that, indeed, the outer and the inner world as it were interpenetrate each other. And I also suppose that in certain stages of our world's life this communion comes out more to the surface as it were, just as at the time of our Lord's being upon earth the active presence and power of devils was more manifest and more felt. And this our own day may be in some unknown manner one of those periods in which there may be some unusual coming out of these hidden forces, and the consciences of people more awakened to the sense of unseen agencies. But such a time I should regard as a time for special watchfulness against the temptation to tamper with what we know from Holy Scripture in former days to have been such a snare. And the warnings of the Old Testament seem to me specially applicable now against those who deal, as God describes, with their 'familiar spirits.' The very terms used in these passages exactly resemble what is now become the ordinary language of those who have been led to accept this belief.

"I am confirmed in this view from all that I have heard of the repeated sayings of these spirits. It is, *e.g.*, a general report of these sayings that Universalism is true, and what is popularly believed on this subject is reflected in the sayings of these spirits, as if it were only various minds reflecting themselves in their supposed conversations with their imagined familiars, and their sayings generally are such trivial things that they have no kind of appearance of anything beyond the shadows of people's own thoughts.

"It therefore appears to me that men have so lost the sense of the indwelling Presence of God and the inner communion with holy angels, that, having the sense of the need of supernatural companionship, they have sought to fill the void with these imaginations, and perhaps thus taken in a snare. If the visions, or sounds, or supposed revelations, are anything real, I should interpret them in this way of an evil and unlawful converse arising out of desires which some unseen beings are taking advantage of; or perhaps more probably they may be people's own imaginations reflecting themselves in imagined but unreal beings and conversations.

"In either case they seem to me things not to be tampered with, and among the modes of intercourse with another world that men have often craved after, but which have been forbidden.

"I am afraid I am writing rather hurriedly on a grave subject. All truest blessing and guidance be with you.

"Your affectionate

"T. T. C."

Spiritual Advice.

"*Clewer Rectory.*

"My dear Friend,

"I am unwilling to let you go so far away without writing a few lines to you. I trust it may please God to sustain all your better purposes, and preserve in you the spirit of prayer and a sound mind. There is a danger always to be guarded against in great change of scene, habits of life, and outward impressions, which possibly you may feel abroad. I think it would be helpful and an inward stay to make the first Sunday in every month a day of special recollection, recalling all your promises, and make them, renewing them on your knees before God. I wish also you could remember to say every day the Lord's Prayer once, with

a special intention of devoting yourself to what is right in all things. There is much help found often in such a simple habit. Perhaps you have the habit of learning verses of Psalms, and using them as ejaculations at leisure times and vacant intervals. It is a very useful habit, tending to deepen and raise the soul. I trust God may bless and sanctify you more and more. You will, I trust, not forget at times to join with your wife in prayer, specially at the Blessed Sacrament.

"Your wife told me of questionings which recent discussions had caused in your mind about confession. I know the disturbing effect of such questionings. The evil is that so many talk on a subject on which they have had no personal experience, and merely theorize, or take what is called public opinion as a guide. It is a question, I think, on which every one can judge only by practical experience. Much is said of its tending to weaken the soul, if continued as a habit. I cannot myself see that it has this tendency, if the habit is arising from a felt need. It helps weak souls that would otherwise be weak. My own experience is that it is a means of strengthening by quieting and deepening the inner life, and freeing it from oppression and temptation, which are the things that really weaken. There is more weakness from going on under a burden, or with perplexities or violent temptations, than there is in removing them by opening the grief of the soul, by sympathy and by renewed pardon and grace of God.

"You may have felt this truth, and you will also, I am sure, have felt how it tends to check the recurrence of temptation, and cause a restraint and deeper self-searching which is of the utmost help, and will draw the more into unearthly communion with invisible things, and altogether free the path before one's feet, and give an assurance of perseverance. I must close with affectionate and best wishes. God bless you.

"Ever yours affectionately in Christ,

"T. T. C.

"Please to give the enclosed to your wife."

"*Clewer Rectory, Wednesday in H. W.*, 1863.

"My dear Friend and Son in Our Lord,

"I am ashamed to see how long it is since I heard from you. Much has happened since I received it

which has kept me unusually occupied. About that time we lost our dearest Mother. Preparation, etc., for a rather pressing Lent came on, with some other calls, besides ordinary work; so I have let slip by week after week without writing as I had intended. I felt I was leaving you, as I ought not to have done, without a reply to an anxious question. . . . Should you be left without the possibility, I think you should regard it as of God and a trial of faith, and it would be good if you were to prepare your paper for confession, and in Church before the altar offer it, and, in Our Lord's love, trust that grace would be given and a sure hope (of) forgiveness. The will God will accept where the means are withheld by His own permission. We are now reviving in our Church its true sacramental system, and we must not wonder if men are slow to accept the more, what we may call, fine and delicate and inner parts of the system. This depends so much on personal life and habit and experience that it can only be understood and appreciated under special circumstances; and in parts distant from the centre of the Catholic movement, these inner parts of life will necessarily be slow of growth; and the whole matter has been so intricately mixed up with confusion, and even fears and misapprehensions, that more thought and study are required to disentangle it, in minds trained in other ways, than men can ordinarily give in the midst of pressing work, and the more honest and earnest men are often, as is natural, the slower to accept new views. So to be patient and unjudging, and to live much on God, as sustaining of Himself in the midst often of much dearth, seems to be the special trial of our times, and we must not shrink from it, and God will not fail us.

"I earnestly trust you will be sustained in your work. I am sure it will be blessed to you, and you must persevere in good heart. Your way has been very plainly marked.

"We are going on much as usual, thankful for a portion of Lent at least being quiet after the excitement and great disturbance of the wedding. The Church of Dedworth, which you have known of, I think (Tudor's work), is within a month or two of its consecration. It is very simple, but a good Church tone about it. We had a Confirmation here yesterday. The Bishop (Wilberforce) has had a good deal of illness. He has got through his Confirmation pretty well, but I think he is weakened and sooner tired.

"Things are going on here as usual. We have formed a

Confraternity in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, and for intercessory prayer in connection with it, which I think you would like to join, were you here. Image, Grieve, O'Brien belong, and all the Sisters. I think there is a growing sense of the blessedness and reverence due to the B.S. This day, for the first time—Maundy Thursday—we have had celebration at our parish church, and we have now on all Holy Days and every Sunday at 8, besides the alternate days at 11. I trust the truth is spreading on this central point, and I don't think Yard's secession has caused much, or extensive, disturbance of mind, though some trial caused at All Saints for the time.

"God bless you,
"Your affect. father,
"T. T. C."

This letter is specially interesting, as speaking of the Consecration of All Saints, Dedworth, the formation of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday as being then an unusual thing.

"*Clewer Rectory, Windsor, December*, 1876.

"My very dear Son,

"I grieve with you at this bereavement. Most touching and tender is a parent's loss. I am so very glad you had the blessing of seeing him and offering the last prayers, and I trust he was conscious enough to know it.

"We (you and I) have been united in losses that I have known, and now I feel thankful in being able to sympathize in yours.

"May God comfort you and all your own people.

"Ever very affectionately,
"T. T. C."

Written on the occasion of my father's death.

With regard to *frequency* of confession in the case of Sisters, the following letter, written to a clergyman who had the charge of Sisters, may be of value, considering Canon Carter's experience in the Religious Life:—

"My dear ——,

"I have felt that some Sisters do need, and are the better for, weekly confession, and when I doubted about it some years ago, on finding the pressure for it, I found that other priests who had had to do with Sisters had felt the need and practised it. I have not felt reason to doubt this since—now for some years—I have acceded to it. But I would add, those I have known are special cases, and I should be very slow to admit it in others. Fortnightly I should prefer keeping to. One of the cases in which I have found it advisable is when the person is a teacher of Sisters. This involves special strain and responsibilities, of course.

"I mention it as an illustration. If a Sister is left very lonely with a heavy charge on her, and with some special infirmities, a fault needing much aid, this too would be a case, I suppose, of exception.

"Perhaps this may help you to see the limits I would draw.

"Ever your affectionate
"T. T. C."

The following letter, on the same ordinance, was written to a priest who was coming to Mr. Carter for the first confession :—

"Dear Sir,

"The only special suggestion I would make, is to look through some special form of examination upon the Commandments, the deadly sins, and the rule of faith, and then to take the life in periods, search in each for the leading sins of omission, and note them on paper, as a help to memory in the successive periods of life. May God bless your purpose and keep you in His Son.

"Sincerely yours,
"T. T. C."

A Theological Question.

"My dear ——,

"Will you kindly tell me what has been generally believed as to our Lord's consciousness of what happened to Him, *e.g.*, in His infancy—whether, owing to the Hypostatic union, His consciousness differed from that of others so as to

have from the first an intelligent perception of what affected Him, and what was passing around Him, so that it could be said that He *teaches* from His cradle, and that His will acted in the occurrences, as in the flight to Egypt, etc., etc. Was this so as far as general belief has gone; and would it follow from the Hypostatic union? I remember a sermon of Newman's, speaking of the foresight of the Cross always being part of the trial, and this extended to infancy an intelligent perception of events, as I have said. I hope I am not giving you trouble at a busy time. I have just been reading the Article on Church Reform. It seems all right. I wonder what will come of it all. I do not see the way out of it.

"Yours, etc.,

"T. T. C."

Spiritual Advice.

"1867.

"My dear ——,

"I am very anxious that you should secure a higher tone. In one respect your present circumstances may be helpful. You are withdrawn from the home distractions and many social calls. You can have quiet times, and S. H.'s help and example. You must endeavour to retain the greater earnestness in a few particular points. There could not be any harm in making leisure easy times, with the rest of the party, and going freely about, if you would keep a few points steadily. You need in the present life, running away irregularly and listlessly and falling in with each fresh difficulty, yielding to it, the bracing air of a few steadfast purposes, as essential to your soul's well-doing. You must be constantly making fresh starts, that is, the second chance, if you fail to persevere steadily. Hereafter you may hope to be strengthened and kept steadfast, if you can continue to renew your efforts; though you fail and relax again and again, you need not despair or doubt. Your sluggish nature is against you. But grace is powerful if we will co-operate. God will hear the cry of a steadfast desire, and will raise you to a higher spiritual state. Begin, then, again to keep a few rules. Try and regularly rise by 7.30, and get the hour before breakfast. It is tiring to walk then. Keep it for quiet reading and meditation. Keep *Sext* and *Nones*, though one or both may sometimes be only by commemoration. Take a special grace every Sunday, to be made an intention in

prayer through the week; and once a week—Friday, it may be—say the Beatitudes, as an act of intention to aim at them as a longing and resolve, with an act of contrition as the means to express sorrow for having fallen so short of them. Watch against dreaming, against mere vacant contemplation, and be active in any little thing that arises to help others or make others happier, and make secret sacrifices, and so help up the high aim unobservedly.

"Write to me again, just to say how you are going on. Love to your aunt, and affectionate remembrances to father and mother.

"Your affectionate

"T. T. C."

On not joining in R. C. Novena.

"1868.

"My dear ——,

"I am very anxious that you should keep the line that your parents most desire, and the blessing of God would most surely follow you in doing this. There is at present such an unfair pressure made by Roman Catholics to draw us from our true line, and it is so disturbing that I feel every one ought to be very cautious and restrained in their intercourse with them, especially if they show a desire to proselytize. I have reason to know that they do not scruple to use what we should consider an unfair and unscrupulous means in effecting this object. One cannot perhaps blame them for this. If they think we are in deadly error, it may seem a sufficient cause. Yet even on this supposition I cannot reconcile it with our ideas of truth, and indeed there seems to be a different standard and idea of truth between us and Rome; and this, which I cannot but see, is the greatest practical matter which makes me shrink from the system. But I should have had no objection to your going to the Mass (this was in France), and using their churches in the week-day as you can, only I should be most anxious that you should keep strictly to our English services whenever you have them. I wish you not to receive anything from your R. C. friends of books, or prayers, or suggestions. They have but one design. This you should say when they ask you, however simple and good it may seem in itself. There is a secret purpose in all, which wholly alters the case, and I think you ought to make them feel there is a barrier

between you and them as to religion, which closes the subject.

"I think you should not address the Blessed Virgin *directly*, but only express *to God* your earnest wish for the intercessions of the most Holy Mother of God and of all the Saints. You may say then, 'May the intercession of the Holy Mother of God and of all the Saints be accepted for me and help me. The thought of such intercession may be very helpful. But make some prayers direct to the Holy Ghost. He is the indwelling Sanctifier and Strengthener.

"Irreverence in the administration of the Blessed Sacrament is indeed most painful. I think, however, that letting it fall is to be viewed with *hope* that it is not from real irreverence. I should only offer a prayer for the priest, and for the Lord's dishonour make an act of reparation by expressing great sorrow. But it is not a sufficient reason for not receiving. I think you should go all the more humbly and earnestly to please Him who may be displeased by any other. God bless you. Affectionate regards to father and mother.

"Your affectionate
"T. T. C."

It has been said that Mr. Carter, like Dr. Pusey, was never near the Roman Communion. The view which he takes of intercession of the Saints in this letter he retained to the end of his life. He did not encourage, or, as a rule, allow, *direct* address to the Saints, only *prier pour prier*, which seems to be in accordance with the principle of the English Church—the appeal to antiquity. We are not, however, dealing with the subject controversially here and now, but only with Mr. Carter's teaching upon the matter. Canon Carter edited a large number of devotional works; perhaps the best known of these is the "Treasury of Devotion." He did not merely lend his name to these works, but he accepted the responsibility of all that they contained. Nothing was inserted without his consent and approval, and we believe we are correct in saying that they none of them contain direct addresses to the Saints. He has himself explained that there was on the one hand "the careful desire

of preserving Catholic devotional doctrine and phraseology," and on the other hand of avoiding "anything distinctively Roman." It was not Canon Carter's habit of mind to draw hard-and-fast lines, nor to feel himself always bound by them. Our attention has been called to one or two instances where he came near to allowing direct address. In one case we have no proof of authorship; and in the other it was not a question of using direct intercession to our Lord's Blessed Mother, but of retaining an old inscription. If such, however, should be discovered, it would be only in accordance with his character, who felt there were occasions when "exception proves the rule." With regard to his own private devotions, we should be greatly surprised if he could not say with another great Anglican divine, "I never addressed a prayer to a Saint in my life." We are quite aware of what may be said for direct addresses on the part of individuals, from the evidence of the Catacombs and from Fathers; but we have no clear authority for "direct" invocation, only "comprecation," in the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian Sacramentaries. Canon Carter, on this matter, did not act alone, but was in correspondence with Dr. Pusey and other leaders of the Oxford Movement, who agreed with the phraseology which he adopted.[1]

The Blessed Sacrament.

Mr. Carter from the first appears to have had a special devotion towards our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. His first work (but one) was upon this subject, and we believe we are right in saying that he was the Founder of the Confraternity, which now has upon its roll many thousands of members. He was for a great number of years the "Superior General," and thus became a centre of devotional influence throughout this organization. A considerable devotional literature

[1] It will hardly be necessary to explain that by the technical term "comprecation" is meant "asking God that the Saints may pray for us;" whereas "invocation" is "Ora pro nobis." The "Sacramentaries" are the ancient authorized forms of devotion in the Western Church.

upon this solemn subject has been created, which began with two or three Eucharistic Collects, printed on a leaflet, as follows:—

"O Lord Jesu Christ, Who vouchsafest to be still present in the midst of us, giving Thyself, Thy most sacred Body and Blood, in the Holy Eucharist, we bewail the injuries and sacrileges to which Thou art thus exposed; and we beseech Thee grant us grace to believe rightly Thy adorable Presence and the continual oblation of Thy Sacrifice, and overcome all opposition to the saving Truth of this ineffable mystery, that we, and all that belong to us, and all who follow after us with Thy whole Church, may be made One Body and One Spirit through Thy indwelling, Who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, One God, world without end. Amen."

Mr. Carter did not usually act alone, but in association with those like-minded—Dr. Pusey, Dr. Bright, Dr. Liddon, and others. From this correspondence we gather with what intense care words and phrases were used in the revival of truths well-nigh forgotten, and sometimes Mr. Carter appears to have been in advance of others in the adoption of devotional terms. The following will illustrate what is meant:—

"My dear Mr. Carter,

"Many thanks. The letter goes in one point, I think, beyond what I was previously aware that the bishop would say. I mean the dislike of the phrase, 'Eucharistic Adoration.' Still I do not feel certain (you see, I *wish* not to believe) that he meant to denounce what Keble taught, for in speaking to me (in a much calmer tone) the other day, he seemed to be deprecating such adoration as implied a material Presence, which he supposed some persons to hold. Also, he spoke of Keble in a way one who seriously differed from him on the Holy Eucharist would, perhaps, hardly do. He deprecated the alteration of the Christian Year on the ground that Keble's real meaning on the stanza would have been well expressed in his note.

"On the whole, I do not think that the bishop's deliberate mind, apart from temporary excitements of feeling (to which his temperament makes him obviously liable), would be

found to be against us, although he would prefer seventeenth-century phraseology, and in some other points take up a different position from our own. I am almost reminded of a confession which Ranke cites ('Hist. Reform,' iii. 535) as penned by some Würtemberg divines (Lutheran, I presume), that 'corpus et sanguinem Christi vere, id est, substantialiter, et essentialiter' (the alteration of 'essential' into 'corporal' in the Black Rubric seems to give 'essential' a kind of authority) 'non autem quantitativè aut qualitativè vel localiter, præsentia esse.' Here a Real Essential Presence is apparently held, while one is taken to exclude what, in fact, as we all know, Roman doctrine, as authoritatively stated, excludes not less. I think Overall would have subscribed this; certainly the great passage in Cosin's First Notes ('Cosin,' v. 131) as to the real, substantial non-physical Presence, and the error of Calvinists in confining Christ's Presence to the 'use' of the Sacrament, may be taken to speak Overall's mind. (If I had to adopt as a formula any seventeenth-century statement of doctrine on the Holy Eucharist, I think I would take *that*.)

"Thanks for your information as to C. B. S.

"Yours very sincerely,

"W. BRIGHT."

Mr. Carter, speaking on the same subject, says:—

"Looking very broadly at this great truth, we may note, as a very striking fact, the deep impression made on the mind of the Church by the institution of our Lord Jesus Christ in the upper chamber of the Blessed Sacrament. Notwithstanding the centuries which have passed, notwithstanding the changes which have passed over nations, notwithstanding the varieties of civilization and of thought, notwithstanding all the controversies and infidelities which have affected especially this great mystery, the impression remains deep in the minds of men everywhere, derived from what at first seems to be but a simple act, though one fraught with such intensely momentous consequences for eternity. Far beyond the effect produced by any other institution of Jesus Christ, this mysterious impression remains in a manner peculiar to itself. True that multitudes have fallen away from the right belief of this great mystery, but still the impression of its necessity and of its momentous mysteriousness has not passed away even with the loss of belief in its true meaning—a

sense of awe and fear remains, an unaccountable shrinking. They regard it as a duty, even when they dare not approach the Altar. And as death draws near, the solemn realities of the future, imparting a vividness to the internal apprehensions which conscience awakens, many are led to seek to participate at last in what they acknowledge to be the eternal fruit of this Divine mystery. Moreover, the popular expression, '*the* Sacrament,' speaks of this indelible impression, such as is attached to no other institution, so great and so peculiar is the mystery connected with this Sacrament of the Eucharist, that it is spoken of as if it was the only one, as if there were no other: 'He Himself, Who comes to be present through the operation of the Holy Ghost, under the veils of the outward forms of the bread and wine, Himself works the mystery, Himself perpetuates its blessedness, as He Himself offers Himself under these sacred forms; Himself sets what the outward ministration of His appointment represents to the outward eye; Himself inwardly and secretly is continually operating the same action which He first performed in that upper chamber in Jerusalem.' But it is to be viewed not so much as a miracle, but as a mystery. The distinction is clear and important. A miracle is the interference with a natural law; a mystery is the manifestation of a hidden truth under an outward form. What the priest does in the celebration of the Blessed Sacrament is to bring about a closeness of contact which always exists in the spiritual world, with what is contrary to no natural law, but which is above all law, which is supernatural, to bring the consecrated elements and ourselves into contact with our Lord, through the carrying out of what He declared to be the outward means, thus linking our earthly state with that Eternal State in which He abides, bringing into union the external and the internal, bringing into communion earth and heaven, men and God; our fleshly form with His glorified fleshly Form, our secret spirit with His Incarnate Spirit. We effect this by the continued use of the appointed forms which are the means and pledges of that inward Spiritual Presence being brought home to us, and ourselves brought into union with it."

It will be observed that in the fulness of Mr. Carter's Eucharistic teaching he does not admit any "interference with a natural law," such as the destruction or transition of

the "substance" of the bread and wine seems to involve. His writings make manifestly clear that the greatest devotion towards the Blessed Sacrament, or rather our Lord's Presence in it, can be attained without going beyond the teaching of our own formulas. Canon Carter repudiated with warmth any idea of disloyalty to Anglican standards. This will be seen from the following "Declaration," which was drawn up by Pusey, Liddon, etc., in 1866, and presented to Archbishop Longley in 1867, and by him to Convocation.[1]

"Whereas, at this present time, imputations of disloyalty are being sedulously circulated to the discredit of those who have been—some of them for many years—earnestly inculcating and defending the doctrines of the Real Objective Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as though they were not faithful to the Church of England, we therefore, the undersigned, exercising the office of Priesthood in the Church of England, beg respectfully to state to your Grace, and, through your Grace, to our Right Reverend Fathers in God, the bishops of your province, and to the Church at large, what we believe to be the mind of our Lord touching the said doctrines, as expressed in Holy Scripture, and received by the Church of England, in conformity with the teaching of the Catholic Church, in those ages to which she directs us, as 'most pure and uncorrupt,' and of 'the old godly doctors,' to whose teaching she has in many ways referred us. We beg leave to declare both what we disclaim and what we hold touching the said doctrines.

"1. Repudiating the doctrine of 'a corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood,' seeing His Natural Body is in heaven; or any materialistic conceptions of His Presence, or any physical change of the natural substances of the Bread and Wine, we believe that, etc."

Mr. Keble writes in 1863:—

"My dear Mr. Carter,

"The second question seems to me more easily answered, therefore I take it first. I have been always taught that it is just as you say—the grace of absolution is the same when pronounced by a priest upon a good confession,

[1] It was signed by seventy clergy, and is printed in the Report of "the Royal Commission on Ritual."

i.e. a humble and hearty one, general or special, whensoever and wheresoever made. As to reparation, you will see how unfit I am to be consulted. I acknowledge to you that the very word is quite new to me as a devotional term. I do not recollect even to have met with it, until I saw it in your letter. I could only guess its meaning. But I have since an instance in Mr. Orby Shipley's 'Divine Liturgy,' which sufficiently explains the use of it according to my conjecture. I must say it seems rather startling, and I should like a little more time to consider it. Could not the true meaning be put in language which should not raise the idea of trusting in human merit, as that phraseology seems to do? But I am so ill-prepared with the necessary knowledge that I had better say no more at present. If I can find anything more definite to write, I will do so before long. But pray do not at all depend on me in the matter.

"I suppose the words may be taken to mean 'cupio emendare quod feci,' but as that cannot be, I beseech Thee to give me a heart to sympathize with the opposite thoughts, words, and actions of Thy holy ones when Thou lookest upon them, to remember me unworthy as longing to join with them *vel tale aliquid*. But the word 'reparation,' at first sound hardly suggests this.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Carter,

"With earnest respect and regard,

"Most truly yours,

"J. Keble."

The following letter will be of interest as showing the activity of both Mr. Keble and Mr. Carter in getting up an address and influencing opinion:—

"*Hursley.*

"My dear Mr. Carter,

"I ought to have reported to you long before now the fate of our address to the bishops. You will have conjectured that it was put by as clashing with the 'Declaration' of the six thousand. That paper reached me just as I was making up ours—but I believe I mentioned this to you, so I need only now enclose it to you, as it was when I had written it out with many, I believe most, of your amendments, for which I was heartily obliged. I fancied that those who do not quite agree with us would not sign the Convocation Paper, and so I sent ours to Dr. Wordsworth

himself, to know whether it might be useful. I enclose his reply, which I did not get for about a week. Might our Paper now do for an address to the Queen or the bishops? I really think both ought in some way or other to be put on their responsibility. To the Queen especially it seems cruel, if we leave her unwarned. We are too busy just now about the women's petition, which is assuming considerable dimensions, that I cannot undertake to write *much* about this other; but will you, if you approve, take counsel and do as you think best? My name is at your service.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Carter,

"With true respect and affection,

"Always yours,

"J. KEBLE."

There were different opinions as to the value and wisdom of 'Petitions,' or public manifestoes, on certain occasions, especially in reference to Eucharistic doctrine; *e.g.*:—

"DEAR MR. CARTER,

"I have had a little talk with M., and when your letter came I sent it on to him for his opinion. I think I may express his opinion and mine somewhat in this way: If a 'memorial' is, in this case, not strictly necessary, we are at liberty to take into account the inconvenience of that mode of proceeding. Many will object to sign it, not because they essentially and seriously differ from its promoters, but either because they dislike signing any manifesto, or because they scruple at this or that phrase or word in the formula; so that a signed statement is never a good expression of the real strength of the body whose mind it professes to set forth. These and other difficulties would have to be met and got over, if the case were one which really necessitated the proceeding. M. and I do not think it is so. Our reasons, I think, may be stated thus—

"1. There should not be, we think, any such manifesto, except by way of reply to, or remonstrance against, some definite tangible accusation, expressed or implied. But the episcopal resolution is indefinite and intangible, so far as it implies any accusation at all.

"2. Dr. Pusey's speech has said what was necessary to be said to the bishops, in reference to their resolution; especially when it is taken with the proceedings of the E. C. U. which followed on his speech.

"3. The Resolution has served its immediate object, and is lapsing into the character of an unreality, especially when we consider the line taken by Dean Goode in regard to it.

"4. It is eminently desirable not to put a difficulty in the way of the Bishop of Oxford; but to make a solemn doctrinal utterance by way of reply to the Resolution which he undoubtedly excogitated, would be like creating such a difficulty.

"5. Still more, if possible, do we feel the undesirableness of giving to the Archbishop of Canterbury an opportunity, or, rather let me say, of putting in his way an occasion, for some very unsatisfactory statement on the principle involved. We have had trouble enough from such statements of his Grace's mind.

"It is only too possible that, in the course of the St. Alban's case, events may arise which may call for some manifesto. At present, it seems to us that the time is hardly come. What the Catholic party teach and believe is not now seriously misunderstood by reading and thinking men; and our position is not as yet compromised by any legal or canonical proceeding on the part of our authorities.

"For these reasons, we are for ourselves disposed to deprecate any public manifesto *at this time*. I do indeed feel—and I am sure that M. does the same—that crises may be reserved which will try alike our faith, patience, and prudence. And then—— But we had rather not till then any demonstrative mode of proceeding.

"Ever yours,
"W. BRIGHT."

Fasting Communion.

"*October* 20, 1896.

"MY DEAR MR. M.,

"I know the difficulty that arises from the growing tendency to make Fasting Communion absolutely necessary except *in extremis*. I suppose it is well that this should be pressed in the face of what we all know of laxity and long disuse in the matter. But I have been accustomed to what Keble, Pusey, Liddon, and such men have taught, and cannot but think with them that the rule of fasting, however important, must give way in such cases as you describe your sister's to be. I know of many such cases, and though I

have no certainty in the matter, I do not scruple to say that such is my view. I suppose in such a case one would have to communicate less often. But to take what renders it possible to receive without injury to health seems to me perfectly justifiable. I do not see it to be a '*law* of the Church.' St. Augustine spoke of it as '*mos*,' and such I believe it to be. Jeremy Taylor, as I suppose you may know, speaks of it in his 'Holy Living and Dying,' and so regards it.

"Yours ever,
"T. T. C."

"*February*, 1881.

"DEAR MISS B.,

"I am sorry to have been hindered writing sooner. What you describe is a great difficulty. I regret to say many feel it. When it becomes a question of Communion or no Communion or very frequent Communion, I am accustomed to think that the fasting rule must needs give way to the necessities of the spiritual life, and cannot suppose that the fasting rule, though in itself to be valued, and earnestly to be observed when practicable, can rightly be viewed as a hindrance. We have kept this principle in the C. B. S. It was once carefully discussed in Council, and it was decided that we should do all we could to 'promote' its observance, not force it as obligatory in all cases, as you describe.

"I am very sorry to hear of your weak state of health. But it seems to me to justify your taking something that would enable you to receive; and, if there is this necessity, I do not see why you should lessen the number of your times of communicating.

"Very sincerely yours,
"T. T. C."

In another letter, to a nurse in an infirmary, where the lady began work at 7 a.m., and there was no celebration until after midday service on Sundays, Mr. Carter advised, in 1881, that she should take "something as little as possible early, so as to prevent suffering." "I quite feel," he adds, "you could not fast rightly with so much work to do."

There are exceptions when "the proper rule seems necessarily in some measure to give way." There are several letters to the same effect.

Romanism.

"DEAR B.,

"I quite agree with you—there is a great deal of very unhealthy and disloyal playing at Romanism, which is greatly damaging our cause and undermining the truth and English feeling of younger clergy. I feel we ought to discountenance it in every way; specially I regret that innovation of the 'Reservation,' on the grounds you do. We owe it to Dr. ——, I regret to say. But the judgment is a great blessing.

"I suppose you feel, though I do not know what you may think, of the progress of our Natal Petition. We have upwards of a thousand signatures. I am going to the Italian lakes before the heat. We start this week. I trust you are well.

"Ever your affectionate,

"T. T. C.

"P.S.—We have just finished reading aloud 'Queen Mary.' There are some fine scenes and some touching ones; there is yet much that is horrid, the characters horrid, and the ideas and the representations generally. It is altogether painful, and unlike what one has so often enjoyed in Tennyson. If it is acted, it will, I should think, rekindle the embers of the Protestant furor. We are going to read Green on the 'History of the English People.' Perhaps you know the book. White has strongly recommended it, and it looks tempting. I think the author is the same that we met at Copri, while he was writing it.

"T. T. C."

"*Clewer, September* 6.

"MY DEAR S.,

"I am so glad to hear, and of course delighted to be of any use to H. Mentone has the advantages of greater dryness and greater equableness, and more chance of being more in the air, only liable to keen winds. I am very glad you have done that review for G. I observe F., as a motto

to his book, alludes to the first edition of Hook's Dictionary, which was against Lay-Baptism, but refers not to the second edition, in which it is denied. Is it not strange? I have not read 'Waterland.' I am occupying myself in making up the notes which I kept of the Retreats which I gave years ago, to put together with the essay on 'Church and World,' of 1868. You know M. is engaged on that book about which I spoke to you, which is nearly ready for printing. She has taken great pains, and it seems to me very good. I send you enclosed just to show you what I am trying to do.

"Your loving
"T. T. C."

The enclosure mentioned in the above letter was an appeal for the restoration of the Chapel of Abraham in Jerusalem. Mr. Carter's interests were far and wide, and of the most diverse kinds, showing the breadth of his sympathy. Holy vessels for the altar, vestments, and linen had been presented for reverent celebrations of the Blessed Sacrament in the Chapel of Abraham, which were preserved by the Patriarch of Jerusalem until Bishop Blyth took charge of them. The late Patriarch, "with the advice of his Synod, had given his permission, as an act of brotherly kindness and sympathy with the Anglican Church," for priests of the English Communion to make use of the chapel. And a further step was now taken for the thorough restoration of the building, "which is situated in the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre," at a cost of about £300. Mr. Carter had been asked to use his influence to raise this sum, and accordingly issued an application for funds, accompanied with an account of the chapel from the "Palestine Text Society."

Death of Mother Harriet (Honourable Mrs. Monsell).

"My dearest ——,

"We were much pleased with your letter. I thought Devonshire would be your destination, but had not thought of the old quarters. You will feel at home

there, and not far from ——, where you will be always welcome. All best Easter blessings be with you and W. H. We have had it very fair since Friday, only cold air; even now sleet is falling; the lowest temperature we have had more than seventeen degrees of frost at night—Good Friday night.

"Dear Mrs. Monsell passed away calmly and painlessly on the morning of Easter Day. I saw her last at the end of Passion Week; the severe weather had tried her. I had the feeling it might be nearing the end, but others thought it only temporary. During Holy Week she was varying much. Sister Elizabeth went down on Easter Eve and just saw her in her armchair, but rapidly failing. After she talked and inquired after all, about four o'clock in the early morning of Easter Day she became unconscious, peacefully calm; she passed away to her well-earned rest. You will understand what a blank it is—it was so great a life, and so true. She is to be buried at Folkestone, her own desire to be there. I go down on Thursday to St. Leonard's, to stay over Sunday for a Pusey memorial expedition.

"Ever your affectionate

"T. T. C."

To his Son.

Reunion of Christendom.

"Dearest J.,

"I see your plan, and I feel that I am criticising it too much; and my own mind being a good deal occupied by these efforts at reunion, I am led too much to think of what is said about them. But I see what you say of this—besides the time involved—involving more than could be said sufficiently to be understood; and I can also see that to those whom you are addressing it would be beyond the mark.

"But one point I would suggest. Could you say anything on the favourable side of Protestantism seeking 'Truth,' and then *against mere authority?* For that is surely how Protestantism began, and is the real meaning of it as a power. It is true that 'Protestantism leans towards disunion,' but this first came from Rome seeking to crush inquiry by mere power. I always think that this side of Protestantism ought to be allowed for. At the Reformation, and ever since, Rome has stopped all fair enquiry, and so held all who question Roman claims and teaching with an antagonism which has fostered private judgment endlessly. Might you not add

a sentence or two to save this point. The Reformation and its endless consequences might have been spared, *possibly*, if Rome could have fairly met the spirit of inquiry awakened by the printing press, etc. One can at least conceive the possibility.

"Ever yours lovingly,
"T. T. C."

"DEAREST J.,

"I should like to say a few more words on this. I understand that the Paper is on the Reunion of Christendom. You have taken well and graphically the hopelessness of reunion through Protestant principles, and have shown historically their tendency to subdivision and minimizing of doctrine. It is well to state this, and one would desire a clear sentence summing up this conclusion. I forget, but doubt whether this was made clear as the conclusion of your survey of Protestant decays (?). But what seems wanted to make a 'whole' and something 'to rest on,' however tersely put, was to the effect (1) that the only hope of reunion is through reconciling the differences between the three separated bodies of the Catholic Communion, to be followed by the return of the sectarian Protestant bodies; (2) that attempts at such reconciliation had been tried and been made in some slight degree, and were being made now; (3) that we ought to do our part by prayer for such a result as well as by cherishing a fair tone of mind on the questions that divide us.

"Ever lovingly yours,
"T. T. C."

"MY DEAREST ——,

"I am truly thankful, and heartily trust that the joy may live on full of hope. What a lightening there is in a new birth of 'a man born into the world!' We came back all well. I had a very pleasant visit to Keble—beautiful days; suited well the buildings, which are toned down, and the creepers are growing up. It all looked delightful. The 'Unity of Christendom' of Wilson caused great excitement. It came on the second day, rather against the bishops' wishes, who did not seem to see its importance or practicability. I suppose you saw in the *Times* about Cardinal Vaughan.

"I wrote at John's instance. He said it ought to be noticed, or it would tell against us. Johnson had the letter which Pusey wrote to the *Weekly Despatch*, and will show up the untruth of what a certain 'W ——h' said of him. I think you are quite right as to your lines. Did you observe a letter in the *Times* complaining of *Ave Maria* used publicly? I rather fancy the *Times* will take up the censorship of Church action, as the bishops have let the mantle fall. All best blessings.

"Yours,
"T. T. C."

The following letters will be of great interest, as they contain Canon Carter's mind concerning devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, Purgatory, and the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament:—

(i.) *Devotion to the Blessed Virgin.*

"*Clewer*, 1897.

"You ask me what I believe to be the truth about devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and I am glad to tell you what has been the result of my own studies in this important subject. We look, as you know, to the great Fathers of the early centuries as the truest interpreters of the law of God, and as witnesses beyond all others as to what the Early Church believed. They are clear as to their belief. They speak of the glory of her purity, of her great vocation as the chosen mother of God, our Saviour, the Eve of the new kingdom, and of her great example to us.

"We cannot but believe and have hope in her intercession being offered for us, hers especially, with those of the other blessed saints, herself the chief. And we may surely ask her intercessions, trusting in God to hear us.

"Prayer *to* the Blessed Virgin is a different thing. This grew in later centuries as the result of the 'Assumption.' You know, the Assumption, or bodily ascension of the Blessed Virgin, I mean, the idea of it, arose out of a mere fable. But the consequences grew and grew till, as you equally know, prayer to our Blessed Lady seems taking the place of prayer to our Lord.

"The Eastern Church has not received it. There the same day is kept as the 'Repose' of the Blessed Virgin, simply her peaceful death. And what now prevails in the Church of Rome is surely a grievous shock to us. For there, Liguori, lately made one of the chief doctors, teaches that prayer to the Blessed Virgin, or prayer through her to God, may be more availing than prayer to our Blessed Lord. Any one who goes abroad may see how chapels dedicated to her are far more frequented than those in which He, the Crucified, is honoured. You know, Holy Scripture has ever kept the Blessed Virgin in a kind of graceful reserve, as best becoming her and the tone of her *Magnificat*.

"Your loving
"T. T. C."

(ii.) *About Purgatory.*

"1897.

"In writing, as you wish me, about Purgatory, it is right to remember that the idea of inflicted punishment seems to have arisen from the growing sense of penal infliction which characterized the Middle Ages. The term properly means simply purification, and so also the term 'damnation,' coming from 'damnum,' means loss, though a similar sense of external infliction grew up. We have no definite revelation about departed souls; only, that there is an Intermediate State before the final judgment, where souls are detained, and are being prepared for their future immortal state. I can see no authority for the Roman idea of a penal condition, an imprisonment of suffering purgation from which souls are to be rescued. There was nothing of this kind in the teaching of the Fathers in the Early Church, nor is there now, as far as I know, in the Greek Orthodox Church. The belief was of a state of light in which remains of sin were being cleansed away through the vision of God, more and more intimately revealed and growing as the soul could receive it, all this, of course, in proportion to the state of the departed—to those prepared, a very paradise of blessedness; to those in their various degrees of advancement, more and more of refreshment and peace.

"We know here how slowly sinful tendencies are entirely cleared away, and though such cleansing will be under far more favourable circumstances in the higher world and in the immediate Presence, yet we may believe the same law of

progress, as now, prevails there in perfecting our nature—there as here. The suffering will be in the consciousness of the past, in the sense of remaining evil, the ingratitude of faithlessness, and such-like. This, however, alleviated, cannot but be felt all the more in that transcendent Light.

"That prayer avails for the departed, as co-operating with their inward purification, has, as you know, been ever felt to be availing through our Lord's Merits and Love. One cannot speak of those in whom no, even the least, seeds of good exist, such as might grow and develop into some measure of the least degree of blessedness, for of blessedness there are many degrees. Our Lord speaks of the Right Hand, etc."

(iii.) *Of Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.*

"You ask me what I think of perpetual Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament: whether it is allowable, and whether it is desirable.

"You know that Reservation for the sick dated from the earliest ages. It is, and has been, in fact, only an extension of Communion, for Communion was the object of our Lord's Institution, and our Lord's Body was to be ever ready at hand at all times and places. Many used to carry it with them when travelling, but always and only for the purpose of Communion. So it remained for fifteen centuries; so it still remains in the Eastern Church; so it continued in the West until the Reformation; and consequently Reservation for the sick only has been the use of the Church of England. It has been the use of the Faithful among us to live on the sense of the Indwelling Presence through frequent Communion, on Holy Scripture, and on the witness of the Church of the first eight centuries before the developments began which have so unhappily caused dissension in the Catholic body.

"The Roman mind has evidently taken a different line from what has prevailed in England. Having shut off the Scriptures from the people, and also the witness of the Church's traditions, and having instead established an absolute authority of the Church of the day, of the present time, it has had recourse to other and new influences to keep up devotional life. Thus Roman use established the Reserved Sacrament with the office of Benediction. Thus, it has of

late established devotion to the 'Sacred Heart,' which, while having a great tendency to a material view, can only mean an intenser sense of our Lord's affections; and thus it keeps up the mediæval idea of Indulgences, as attached to specific prayers. If we regard the object aimed at in such devotions, they seem, and were intended, to supply the place which to us has been filled (?) by the use of Holy Scripture and early traditions, and I may add the living influence of the indwelling Spirit of God. I add this last, for any one who reads Roman devotions must have seen how little is said of such a Living Presence, and it is clear how this has come to pass. For Rome has been ever afraid to dwell upon the inspirations of the Holy Ghost, knowing how to such influences have been attributed individual action and schismatic separation as against the dogmatic rule of authority. In all this I am not wishing to criticise Roman ways, only to show the different lines that they and we have been led to take, though I cannot but believe that our ways have been the truer and the best for intelligent and sustaining and truthful devotion.

"Further, as to the question whether perpetual Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament is desirable. I have already implied that it must be by the act of the Church of England as a whole if it were to be ordained. As to whether desirable or no, that, of course, is a different question. One thing, I think, that must strike any one who is acquainted with modern Roman devotions, is the very painful sense of the mode of addressing our Lord in the Tabernacle as voluntarily there confined. Such devotion is but a natural consequence of the belief. But can this be desirable? What our LORD HIMSELF may think of such a devotion to HIMSELF we cannot know. There is, no doubt, a certain felt sanctity, where there is such Reservation, to a reverent mind, and it may have a helpfulness to devout persons, such as one ought not to judge. But to many a mind, I suppose, doubt must arise. To us, at all events, who look to the object for which our Lord designed His most Holy Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, and who believe that His Indwelling Presence through the Holy Spirit is meant to be the consequence of Communion, and who live in trust in the witness of the Catholic Church for so many centuries to this truth as the ground of our spiritual life—to us, as I believe, it is truer and more according to what we know of our Lord's mind, to follow the witness of the Catholic Church for so many

centuries to this truth rather than what Roman use of comparatively later years has introduced in the matter of the Blessed Sacrament, as in other matters which form so much of its cherished devotion.

"I am writing the result of many years of consideration of the many truths concerned in the various usages which are touched by the questions you have asked. I hope I am clear, or I would wish to make any questionable point clear. God bless you, and may He keep us united in seeking to do our Lord all honour.

"Ever your affectionate

"T. T. C."

The following letter, a copy of which has come to our hands, bears upon one of the three questions just discussed, that of "Reservation." It is a reply to a letter upon this subject from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"14, *The Lees, Folkestone*, 1885.

"My dear Lord Archbishop,

"I am greatly ashamed by the condescension and kindness of your Grace's expressions. I am exceedingly sorry if I may have been guilty of any want of deference when writing, as I frankly confess I did, under strong emotion, feeling how serious a loss was being incurred, and having personal grounds for such feeling. May I mention to your Grace some few particulars to show you how much one personally feels in this matter? I have been, and am still, obliged to reserve the Blessed Sacrament every week, as the only means of communicating a very suffering Sister at our House of Mercy, who cannot receive until late in the morning, and is quite unable to bear the service for 'Communion of the Sick.' The bishop knows of the case and its necessity. I am connected with a London parish, where the late archbishop, when Bishop of London, gave permission for such Reservation, where, if it were compelled to cease, many must suffer and die uncommunicated. I am anxious also about other parishes where similar painful loss would be sustained.

"I am not arguing with your Grace, but only explaining why I wrote under such strong feelings. I was moved by

the thought that if it were to go forth with authority that under no circumstances the Church of England permitted the Reservation for the sick, the Church would be maimed in a matter affecting the spiritual life in its deepest needs, while manifestly up to this time such permission has been considered possible under special circumstances. In drawing the conclusions which I did from the proceedings in Convocation, I can only plead that I formed my judgment from the *Guardian* report, which we are accustomed to regard as accurate and trustworthy. I do not know whether I missed any point. I looked anxiously, but I saw only what I alluded to. It did not occur to me to ask for further intelligence, when the account given seemed to be quite clear. I hope your Grace will not think me indifferent to the dangers which you have pointed out, and will excuse my warmth on the ground of my great anxiety on behalf of suffering souls. I am glad, however, that I have erred in supposing your Grace's judgment and that of the assembled bishops was to cut off any privilege now accorded to us in cases of urgency such as I have referred to. The practice I am anxious to preserve is in accordance with the most certain use of antiquity, and I thank your Grace most warmly for your kind reply, which quiets my anxiety.

"Your Grace's thankful and obedient servant,

"T. T. CARTER."

The Consecration of Barlow.

The following Paper, bearing date April 19, 1864, was probably read by Mr. Carter at some meeting in South Devon. It is related to Roman controversy upon this vexed question, written in Mr. Carter's unmistakable hand, and sent to us by one who was a chaplain of one of the institutions.

"1. The 'great doubt' about the consecration of Barlow ought in all fairness to be given up. Over and over again it has been shown that he was validly consecrated. He was Bishop, though not in possession of a See. Courayer, Dr. Oldham, etc., give the facts. The Church Union Kalendar of the present year has the pedigree and proof of his consecration.

"It is, I regret to say, characteristic too often of Roman controversialists to persist in bringing forward points long ago disproved. Only a little while ago a R. C. who disputed it told me that, on inquiry, she was satisfied that in the original official document of Parker's consecration there was Barlow's name as Bishop.

"2. The form in which our Lord consecrated the Apostles was simply, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins,' etc.

"For a long time in the Catholic Church this continued to be the use; it was originally only as a prayer that the Commission was conveyed. Our form, immediately after the Reformation, was but the same our Lord had used. It is simply idle to call this defective. The truth is, it has been left to the Church to give Sacrament in forms of its own choosing, and they have varied from time to time. For more than a thousand years absolution was given as a prayer, the one which now stands in our Order for the Visitation of the Sick *after* our Absolution. That precatory form alone was used during all that period, and still in the East the form, I believe, is of this same kind, only the words in Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist were fixed by our Lord and unchangeable, and are *the* form. In all other sacramental ordinances they have varied, whilst the powers given are the same. The words quoted, 'For a bishop,' 'Stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of our hands,' are St. Paul's, words applied by him to the same purpose, and to say that these words used by bishops canonically consecrating a successor with the full intention would not be a true expression of the intent is hardly reverent.

"The same may be said of what is urged as to omitting the mention of 'offering sacrifice.' There is no specific mention of this function of the priestly office in our Lord's or in the Early Church's form of Commission. Archbishop Bramhall argued against this really frivolous (?) change in Queen Elizabeth's day. He says, 'He who saith, "Take thou authority to exercise the office of a priest in the Church of God," doth intend all things requisite to the priestly function, and among the rest, to offer a representative sacrifice to commemorate and apply the sacrifice which Christ made upon the Cross.' It is true one *form* of Commission was altered. There was no idea of imperfection before such as would invalidate the Commission. What was used at first was the primitive form, the words added were simply a giving a greater fulness.

"3. As to sacrifice, it is not true that our Church ever denied the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The Reformers wished and strove to raise the idea of Communion, which had been practically lost in the absorbing idea of the Sacrifice, and that the worship of the people was thought to be adequately fulfilled in being present at the Sacrifice, instead of partaking of it. The question really was as to the meaning, what was meant and what the relation of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist to that of the Cross. All our chief Church writers during the Reformation period argued as Bramhall did, 'We acknowledge a Eucharistic sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, a commemorative sacrifice and representation of the Passion of Christ before the eyes of His Father; an impetrative sacrifice and impetrative of the fruits and benefits of His Passion; and, lastly, an applicatory sacrifice. Let him that dares go one step further than we do, and say that it is *a suppletory sacrifice to supply the defects of the Sacrifice of the Cross*; or else let them hold their peace, and speak no more against us on this point of sacrifice for ever.'

"The latter passage, which I have underlined, shows *what* idea of sacrifice they endeavoured to exclude.

"4. The idea of the king being able to make bishops was merely a notion of some few, and it is not clear that they meant the royal license as sufficient without consecration. There is no instance of any one becoming a bishop in this way. There were confused notions of the distinction between priests and bishops, but this confusion really arose from the Papal usurpations, which had absorbed most of the episcopal rights into the Papal See; that on the first awakening of the mind to the realities of the condition of the Church under the Roman supremacy, it took some time to clear away the confusion. If the idea existed, it was but the notion of a few, and never acted on. They were careful, some of them, to take out licenses for the time, but this was to give legal security and authority. There is no question in our Ordinal or in any public act of the distinctions between the three Orders.

"5. As to the *intention*, it really is not as it has been stated. Sacraments are not dependent on the intention of the administrator. What would be the untold misery of the consequences if such were the case, in the days when Arianism nearly overran the Church, or in the case of wicked priests and unbelieving priests, who could tell whether we had been rightly baptized or absolved, or had really received our Lord's Body?

"This is supposing that there may have been since the Reformation a defect of intention as to ordaining, which really is not to be believed.

"6. Is it true that mission and jurisdiction are necessary as well as order for ministers of God? But to say that through the Papal See only mission can come, is to beg the whole question. We deny it on the overwhelming fact that it was never so held and done for centuries in Christendom. Every canonical bishop has power of giving mission, and so it was ever held in better days.

"7. The cause of the differences as to Rome's dealing with Eastern and English priests who go over to them is not difficult to discern. They look on us as revolted subjects, less so in the case of the East. Their hostility towards us is stronger, though Rome has *never formally* [1] denied our Orders. What is said of the then Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, when Courayer's book on our Orders was not judged as important on the point? He was condemned as a heretic on other points by the Court, not on *this*. The policy towards us on the part of Rome has been, however, in practice, 'war to the knife.' The same enmity has not been called out toward the East, at least of later years."

Disestablishment.

"*Sunday Evening, December* 9.

"MY DEAR ——,

"I may not, I fear, be able to remove from your mind the painful feelings which I have unhappily caused, but you may, I trust, be able to be more forbearing in your judgment of me, if you will kindly read the following account of the thoughts weighing on my mind and actuating me. They need no reply, and can be read at your leisure. You can hardly, I suppose, but be aware of the difficulty perplexing us (by 'us' I mean those with whom I am most accustomed to have intercourse) from your avowed desire for disestablishment.

"In addition to this, you may be scarcely able to feel how much anxiety arises from your manifest rejection of spiritual authority in our bishops or bishops' courts, in consequence of their alliance with the State. Nor possibly can you appreciate the extent to which what you do is taken, not only

[1] This was written in 1864.

by outsiders, but by the Church world very generally, as expressing the mind of the (so-called) High Church party, or at least of our section of it. I do not wish to speak of myself personally, except by way of explanation. But I have committed myself altogether from very strong convictions to the duty of endeavouring to restore a better order of jurisdiction in our existing status, if, and so long as, it should please God to preserve it.

"I have gone the furthest length to which I could conscientiously go in the way of resistance, and have not shrunk from wounding and estranging near friends in devotion to this cause. But it has been all along—and on this ground alone could I justify it to my conscience—with the view of restoring constitutional order, and, for the sake of this order, believing that authority must come from above, and that the present constitution is out of joint, not in itself radically wrong.

"To come nearer to the point. When the other day the Queen's Bench at least greatly damaged Lord Penzance and his Court, I felt, in common with all our party, that we had gained a great step towards our end—that, through his ruin, in time the day might be clearer towards a true exercise of Church jurisdiction. When your letters to the Bishop of London appeared, it was evident that a new order of conflict was arising, rejecting the bishop's authority altogether in every shape that was now practicable, and proposing no other in the stead of what was possible now, and this in matters of less moment than those in which we had hitherto been engaged.

"Some of us consulted together as to any combined effort of attempting to persuade you to come to terms with the bishop.

"But we decided it was better to write privately and separately; hence some of the letters which must have reached you on or before the Saturday when you returned to London. I was asked to write something publicly to clear those of us who with me lamented the line you had adopted, thinking it injurious to our common cause and future prospects. I declined to do so, trusting to the private appeals.

"When your letter came out on Monday after these appeals had reached you, there seemed no hope of any change on your part, and it seemed to me inevitable that we should all be compromised if we were silent, and be assured of approving.

"Will you forgive me if I add that the tone of that letter in its reference to the Bishop of L. (the last paragraph) was so defiant, beyond anything I could have fancied you would write, that I was dismayed at the spirit that was colouring the action, and all the more it seemed that something was necessary to be done to save those, who, like myself, dissented from it, from being implicated.

"I could not but think your course a mistake, affecting us all, and I had to choose between letting myself and others who might look to me in the matter, take our chance of being identified with your proceeding, or risking the consequences of an open disclaimer.

"I can hardly expect you, my dear ——, to look at those points, which I have endeavoured to express as briefly as I could, in the same light as I do; but I earnestly trust that what I have said will show you that much has to be taken into account; that what I have said may lift the question up above personal considerations; that whether I am mistaken or not, it will at least appear that it was the cause of the Church, which you love as dearly as myself (though we look differently at its outward accidents), that actuated me throughout this painful matter; and that you may perhaps somewhat better be able to respect the motives at least, though you may be quite unable to approve of what I did.

"I pray that in anything in which I may have been mistaken in this very painful matter I may be forgiven, as I would pray that anything in which you may have erred may be overruled in mercy for good.

"Believe me, as ever,

"Your affectionate friend,

"T. T. CARTER.

"If you would think well to show this to your curates, I should be obliged to you, for I should like to explain myself to them equally as to yourself."

Fasting Communion.

"MY DEAR S. H.,

"I am obliged to you for writing to me, and am glad to reply. Our Community was meant to sustain the use of fasting communion as far as possible. There are

many whom I have known in past years, who, staying from home for a time, and at a distance from church, would have suffered a good deal unless they had taken some support, however slight. But for any one *regularly*, even with full sanction, breaking the rule, I have never known, and I do not think it would be consistent with the aim which the confraternity has treasured.

"There may be cases of an extreme kind for a time; but this does not seem to be the case you speak of.

"Believe me, in the love of our Lord,

"Sincerely yours,

"T. T. CARTER."

It may be necessary to mention that this letter was written to the head of a religious community. Mr. Carter's mind upon this subject is clearly given in this and other letters. We have been told that he was much distressed by the violent line which some had taken up, which he thought showed a want of consideration for priests, especially when they were far from their churches. On one occasion he went so far as to describe such rigorism as "binding in iron fetters the sacrament of love."

Canon Carter was desirous of showing his affection for a departed friend, and applied to Dr. Pusey to join with him in the effort to preserve the memory of one who was much loved by both. It appears that the funds raised were to be used for an endowment of some object in which all were much interested. The application called forth from Dr. Pusey the following characteristic reply, which in the light of subsequent events may almost provoke a smile; but it is an evidence of the saintly doctor's unworldly spirit, if not a very practical view of things.

"*South Hermitage, Ascot Priory,*

"*July* 3, 1882.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,

"I am sick of memorials, and only hope that none will be made of me. They are now commonly used to promote some object which some one has at heart. Of course

it is much better that money should go to an useful object; but the object in so many seems to be something which people want, as to fill a church with stained-glass windows etc.

"Then I have, all my thinking life, disliked making capital out of income. It has seemed to me providing for futurity till our Lord comes, or the destroyer, out of what is given us for the day. I have always thought, 'Let us provide for the things of the day, and let the morrow be provided for by those who see it.' I have, on this account, always disliked making fresh endowments. It has been such waste, sinking £1000 (amid the overwhelming wants for the day), in order to produce £30 per annum or so, for some indefinite future.

"I could not then consistently join the memorial to Mr. S. It would be acting on a principle contrary to what I have acted upon all my thinking life.

"The enclosed will also tell you of a practical difficulty, that I am begging as hard as I can for the extension of the usefulness of this place, with its magnificent air, by means of subscriptions. This hospital and its lands have become what they are out of capital, chiefly that of the Foundress, and the new wards which are to be built out of capital, if there is promise of *subscriptions* to feed the patients. I would only add that the enlargement was part of the original plan of the Foundress, but has been proposed thus late from lack of private funds to build it. With every good wish,

"Your very affectionate

"E. B. PUSEY."

This letter was marked on the back by Canon Carter—"Thoughts on Endowments."

"MY DEAR ——,

"I must thank you very much for your full and very satisfactory reply to my question. It is very supporting to my mind. I shall venture to quote some parts of it, I think, if I can carry out my purpose of publishing another volume of 'Spiritual Instructions on our Lord's Infancy.' I am now correcting proofs of a second volume of 'Parish Teachings.' I am glad to leave behind me some few records of the parish church days, though they do not come to much.

I saw that on non-communicating attendance. I am glad that it should be marked. —— asked me once what it meant.

"Ever yours affectionately,
"T. T. C."

"*Lux Mundi.*"

"My dear ——,

"I am truly glad of your critique on 'Lux Mundi.' I thought the article excellent. We are evidently in for a most serious controversy. I hear from good authority that the question as to Pusey House will not be settled till the long vacation. I wonder how the Council will act. Evidently L. and —— cannot both remain. The correction of those passages in the *Guardian* of last week did not seem to make any real difference. I am surprised and sorry for the line which —— has taken, who, whilst he would not accept ——'s idea of the dramatic representation of Jonah and Daniel, will accept his view of our Lord's limited knowledge. He appears to think that as the earlier ages had established Christ's divinity, the later would establish His true manhood and real sympathy, which was less traditionally held. But I thought it argued a serious conflict of opinion, and I cannot go with it.

"Your ever affectionate
"T. T. C.

"I am rejoiced to see the *Times* taking part against 'Lux Mundi.'"

Upon this question, Mr. Carter's views were identified with those of Dr. Pusey and Dr. Liddon. He was very anxious to show his affection for Dr. Liddon by attending his funeral. There are several communications about this. Mr. Carter says, writing to a friend—

"I fully mean to be at St. Paul's. I will go with you, meeting at 10.15. I want to make sure of being present. . . . Indeed, it is a sorrow, and a loss of a very grievous kind."

Concerning the Lincoln judgment, he writes—

"It seems to me impossible, absolutely so, to think the archbishop's judgment can settle for ever a controversy of many years affecting the whole Church movement. It may add to the materials of our judging, and, of course, clenches matters as to Bishop of L., but it can do no more."

Again, in a letter apparently bearing the date June 1, 1890, he says—

"I expressed my belief in the address (before a Society) as to the archbishop's decision as not absolutely settling the question, but it must be subject to Church Synod; not as now, *in personam*, but *in rem*." [This view (which Mr. Carter expressed also in the *Guardian*) met with very general approval.] "The bishop's Charge, which we heard yesterday, was very clever and interesting, dealing with 'Lux Mundi' and 'Ritual Judgment,' the latter evidently waiting for a compromise.

"I am thinking of going to Switzerland for a quiet kind of visit this year. I suppose the last I am likely to take. I feel a sight of the mountains will be restful. I will do what you wish if there is time. I suppose you want only a subordinate article. C. seems to think the Court may be viewed as supreme. F. M. is now giving a Retreat here, and is with me.

"Lovingly yours,
"T. T. C."

Canon Carter had a way of magnifying what in his love and humility he was pleased to regard as famous. Thus in a letter dated July 13, 1893, he writes—

"DEAREST ——,

"I thank you very heartily for sending to me a copy of your new edition. The book is becoming a classic, and all you say in the dedication is most touching to me."

He was always real and true, but possessed such a warmth of affection and vivid imagination as to impart a

glow and brightness to little acts of courtesy which a proud or phlegmatic disposition would scarcely notice. This is a trait which we constantly discover in his correspondence. *É contario*, what an ordinary character would regard as great occasions and calls, which brought honour and notice would be met by him without effort or loss of composure, even when press of spiritual work had left no time for preparation. Thus, we have seen him going off to preach on a special occasion and on a special subject, when in the carriage he had great difficulty in recalling what was the topic on which he was expected to speak.

"Lux Mundi" was evidently a continued anxiety to him. In the next letter before us we come upon this theme again, and he says—

"I have been reading some of 'Lux Mundi,' and am grievously sorry for its publication, and it seems to me unlike the work of real theological critics, though there is much in it which is beautiful. The two last essays I read on my way to Bovey, and these seemed to me good and beautiful."

It may be mentioned here that he was in the habit of reading on his journeys, and became so absorbed with the subject that he sometimes lost his way or his luggage—on this occasion the latter for a while.

"I read ——'s article a second time, and felt the more strongly against the line. Some of the views about faith in this volume seemed to me more questionable."

Again, Mr. Carter was much distressed by the new teaching about the Holy Spirit's gift in Baptism. He says—

"I came upon ——'s note this morning, and it, indeed, startled me! If that really is the end of this argument, I had yet hoped, that in spite of what —— says of the Spirit's gift, he would have left the renewal of our nature still as the predominant idea of baptism, and so kept up its dignity.

What can —— think of regeneration as a real fact? He seems to be evidently caught by novel ideas."

Canon Carter was very generous, and would take up his pen to defend any whom he thought hardly dealt with in the press or elsewhere, quite apart from the question of theological sympathy. As an instance of this, when writing to a friend, he refers to a letter of his in the *S*——, defending a certain dean whom he thought had not been quite fairly treated:—

"I thought," he says, "the comments of *S*—— very unfair upon him. He is a good 'Broad,' and will, I think, be fair all round. I fancy he is not deep enough to take in the real bearings of the whole question, and that he thinks it can be settled by amiable arrangements and kindly administration. But he will do well in general ways, though he had better have waited for his promotion a few more years.

"How strange it seems to have lived through the storms and struggles, and now to see the vessel moving on so freely as if all were peace. The only trouble now is the independence of people, taking each their own line, but happily some going on the right line."

In the following extract from a letter to a literary friend, Mr. Carter's attitude towards modern views is evident:—

"DEAR ——,

"I should be glad if you would see your way to modify certain expressions in your note, the 'method of evolution.' This seems to accept the whole thing. Might it be 'a certain kind of evolution,' or something to that effect? Again, 'if in details rectified.' This admits a great deal—one hardly knows how much. I think it would need explaining what is meant. Also, 'may still bear the data.' Is not this too apologetic? I should say, 'are thoroughly trustworthy as to data, usually assigned to them.'"

These extracts are given as evidences of the same conservative tone of mind with regard to science as well as doctrine.

Ritual Difficulties.

"DEAREST S.,

"I feel with you the anxiety of the time. I wrote to thank V. for his letter in the *Times*. I feel very sure that unless the bishops consult the priests and make some common cause, there can only be again and again what has been—the Final Court appealed against and resisted, and so round and round again the same unhappy alternations. I do not know how it may be arranged, but the bishops seem at a loss how to act.

"I cannot see how we can accept censing without any object of person or thing. This is meant, I suppose, to prevent movement in the sanctuary.

"Yours very affectionately,

"T. T. C."

"*Richmond, Yorkshire, August* 22, 1887.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"You will be glad to hear of our progress. We have had beautiful weather, only one wet day and a thunderstorm; and it has been raining, only to-day it has become coldish and dull. We had four days at Bolton, and greatly enjoyed that most lovely Wharfe—was there ever finer river scenery?—and a day at Ilkley, a most lovely place on the edge of a picturesque moor, on the lower part of the Wharfe. Then we came to the Ingleborough country. We could not get in at Clapdale, and came on to Ingleton. There we found delightful moorland, glens, and waterfalls, and all very pleasant, and beautiful air. We got into a little village, poor, but all very clean, and food good, and manners most civilized and simple. We had a long day's drive round to the —— of Ingleborough and down Wensleydale, about 36 or 37 miles. Weather beautiful. It is well worth the expedition, and there are waterfalls, quite striking, by the way. These waterfalls are quite a feature of these Yorkshire dells.

"We came on to Leybourne, and so next day to Ripon by Jervaulx. The ruins there are not much, so great has been the destruction; and we had Ripon cathedral for our Sunday; service very reverent, and inside very good. It is a third-class cathedral, but it is fine, and a real cathedral, though till

late only a parish church, as you know well. But it is difficult to say enough of Fountains, or Lord Ripon's magnificent park, and the beautiful gorgeous church he built, and happily made over to the parish and his wife, though he Romanized while it was being built. Burgess was architect, and it is most beautiful, and of exquisite effect. I think of staying here a day or two, and then go on to Durham, where we shall be for Sunday, and after that make for Stirling, to be a few days with my old curate Duthie and his sisters.

"Your affectionate brother,

"T. T. C."

A Theological Question.

October 29, 1886.

"DEAR ——,

"I am glad to hear you are coming for the All Saints' Octave. We can then talk over some matters. There is a theological question. I am not clear about it. It is about our Lord's consciousness during His early infancy. Is it believed that the Divine Personality pervaded the human nature so entirely as to give to His infancy a consciousness of what was then done by and to Him. Would it, *e.g.*, be true to say that He was conscious and acted voluntarily in His circumcision, His flight into Egypt, so as to know the meaning and assent to the sacrifice involved in those actions?

"Yours,

"T. T. C."

Prayers of the Saints.

"*November* 20, 1886.

"DEAR ——,

"I find a stronger and clear passage in 'Law: Answer to Fisher,' ch. ix. p. 385, Cambridge, Pitt Press:—'As here in the Church Militant we have our fellow-soldiers, *striving together with us and helping together* with their prayers to God for us;' and yet because we pray one *for* another, we do not pray one *to* another, so the Fathers who taught that the Saints in the Church Triumphant do pray for us, might with St. Basil acknowledge that they have the

martyrs *fellow-helpers* to their prayers, and yet pray with them only, and not *unto* them.'

"Yours,
"T. T. C."

[The italics are Law's, while for the subject, see St. Basil.]

It will be seen from this letter that Canon Carter, in regard to the "Invocation of Saints," as well as in other matters of controversy, did not feel justified in going beyond what, at any rate, at the time was regarded as the limits of the teaching of the English Communion. Though his delight in, and reverence for, and admiration of the Saints were almost unbounded, he did not encourage *direct* invocation. He was not convinced that praying *to* them was the practice of the Early Church, which was ever the Court of Appeal of the old Tractarians. On the other hand, in consideration of what was practised and encouraged in other parts of the Church Catholic, East and West, he might not have always felt it necessary to forbid this direct invocation, in the case of those who had already formed this devotional habit, provided that there was no danger of their trusting in any merits or advocacy short of that of the One Organic Mediator, "*Himself* Man, Christ Jesus." Certainly he would not have sanctioned any public use of such devotions, nor have recommended it in private prayer.[1]

It is evident that this question about *direct* invocation of the Saints was one which exercised the minds of those who, in earlier days, edited books of devotion for English people. The following letter from Dr. Pusey to Canon Carter will reveal the caution and consideration with which Dr. Pusey and Dr. Liddon touched the *lex orandi*:—

"My dearest T. Carter,

"I think that that form of prayer, 'May etc.,' has been used these thirty years. I do not remember issuing these myself; but devotions which I have edited—

[1] This subject is also dealt with in pp. 239, 240, etc.—Ed.

although I have defended them—I did not remember whether you put them distinctly as a prayer to God to give us their prayers. But I know nothing about the extreme party except what one reads in papers, so that I feel utterly incompetent to think how this would affect them. So I sent on yours to Liddon, and I now enclose his answer, which is mine also.

"Your most affectionate,

"E. B. P."

R. C. Controversy.

"*February* 7, 1888.

"DEAR ——,

"You will not be surprised to hear that C. has succumbed to the charms of Rome. His sister led the way. The Jubilee at Rome, where he happened to be, no doubt influenced the desire, and everything like that unhappy letter of the Bishop of —— kept aggravating the sore. I am not sure whether he has been received—but it is as good as done. A kind of parting letter has just passed between us, and we hurriedly shook hands at the station.

"Have you seen a Kalendar, published by W., which has an increasing circulation? I saw a laudatory notice of it in ——. H. wanted me to disclaim any connection with it, as my name in some way appears on the title-page, connected with something which I wrote somewhere. It contains most insinuating, unpleasant bits of Romanism in it. He thought a Jesuit must be the author. I thought of disclaiming any approval of it in ——.

"Yours, etc.,

"T. T. C."

"*Lux Mundi.*"

"*September* 7, 1891.

"DEAR ——,

"There is a matter upon which I should like to know your mind. D. having been foiled in his endeavour to get Convocation to take up the 'Lux Mundi' matter, and not

finding E. C. U. is able to deal with it, is now set upon getting an address to Canterbury, signed by certain names. He is corresponding with Goulburn about it, and he will seek to get a meeting to consider it. I have told him I would go to such a meeting, of a few, very privately, if possible. I have said to him, that I should think, if such an address is to be drawn up, there ought to be a recognition of what is good in the book; and also a disclaimer of anything against such criticism as Lightfoot carried out in the Tübingen matter. He (D.) would rather say nothing of this kind of allowance, or thought it too much of accommodation to popular thought. What do you think of such a move, and how should it be made, if made? Certainly the book in its main tendencies is of a too rationalistic order. Yet how many like it. Dear W. I saw on my way through Exeter. He likes it much, and would reject any move against G. He likes him so much personally, and he is being 'fêted' just now. I have just re-read Illingworth's essay on 'The Incarnation and Development,' very thoughtful, very well written, full; but my impression is that evolution is taken as the unquestioned truth, and that the Bible must be made to square with it. But it is written best. I see nothing in G.'s subsequent sayings that alters the first impression of his essay.

"Yours,

"T. T. C."

Mr. Carter knew Manning in Lavington days, and when they were both old men a mistake arose, which the cardinal was anxious to have cleared up, and so he wrote to Canon Carter about it. It appears that some one had stated that Carter had said of Manning "that if the Church of England had been then (when he went over) what it is now, that Manning would not have left." Manning, however, thought it an opportunity for taking a parting shot, which was not a very successful one. He said the Church of England was neither Church nor any part of the Church; that it left him, not he it, or words to that effect. We have a copy of Mr. Carter's reply in his own hand, in which, after touching allusion to the circumstances under which they last parted, he disclaimed the words which had been attributed to him—not

that he had not used them, but he had used them of some one else, not Manning, and adds—

"You will not think me disrespectful if I add, in reference to your closing paragraph, 'that the Church of England is neither the Church nor any part of the Church,' that it does not pain but surprise me as a hard saying, and surely one that needs to be proved. I suppose it to allude to certain judgments of the Courts to which we are unhappily subjected through our complications with the State, for I know how those shook your faith in the Church of England. But it has been surely manifest that those cruel blows have served to quicken the zeal of many, and brought out more clearly the real truth, which had been denied, and the worst that they have done for us is to open the way for teachers at variance with our true heritage, entering in and finding a temporary place among us—a trouble to which history shows from various causes the Church Catholic to have been exposed at all times, and not wanting, I think, in the Roman Communion at present, as of old, enough, it may be more secretly than among us. Pardon my testifying to so grave a charge."

Mr. Carter's strong antagonism to anything revolutionary comes out in the following:—

"We had a hopeful Council meeting last week at ——. Shaw Stewart kindly undertook to come every week to audit the accounts, so that we would have regular Reports, and issue an appeal at once. I had rather a painful talk with —— on finding that the programme of S. M.'s Guild is down with the House of Lords—at least, do away with hereditary peerages—and you may have seen that exhibition in Hyde Park on Sunday last with H. as a speaker, Shaw Stewart remonstrating, which I do also, and I had to say that I must issue the appeal in my name, and not in his. I feel difficulty in working with him while he is following out what he calls his Mission."

"1899.

"I am truly anxious at the lower-side elements of Church life showing themselves as they do, and the bishops seem to give free course to the lower side, and only stringent on the

higher. I suppose the fear of Rome is ingrained in the English character. It was so before the Reformation, and is intensified in the post-Reformation view. I wrote to the *Times* to correct a letter answering mine, and correcting the good man's error. The *Times* likes to keep up this strife, and to hold to the lower line. A good man, who gave the last Retreat, used incense in the common fashion. When the Primate was questioned what he ought to do, he was told he was to retain incense, but *not* to incense persons and things. I fancy this may come. No doubt incense was first used as a purifier, so in Herbert when near Salisbury. What do you think of the E——? I have just written an article in it on the Oxford Movement. I was glad that the Vicar of S. C. gave up kissing the cross on the ground. It was hardly English."

Fasting Communion.

"*November*, 1891.

"My dear ——,

"I am sorry you have been disturbed in mind on this question. In such a case as you describe yours seems to be, even in a strict view of the Catholic use of Fasting Communion, it would be permissible to take before communicating such relief (?) as you might need. In a paper lately read, and now published by Father Puller of Cowley Brotherhood, he has taken the highest view of the use, and yet shown the allowable relaxations you speak of. It is published at Masters, entitled 'Concerning the Fast before Communion.'

"You may judge of my own conviction in the matter from the course which the C. B. S. Council has taken, and which I have earnestly desired to promote, namely, that as the Catholic and primitive use of very high authority, it ought to be cherished and furthered in all legitimate ways, but that it should not be made compulsory, considering the necessity of exceptions on account of infirmities of health or other causes of overstrain. Many years ago I gathered the opinions of men of most mark at the time, among others Dr. Pusey, Dr. Liddon, and Dr. Neale, who all agreed in this view. We still keep this view in the action of C. B. S. I need not say how anxious one may yet be to observe the rule when it is possible.

"I trust you may be at rest in such a matter touching so closely peaceful communion with our Blessed Lord. I will

recall your name in connection with Church work of many kinds, and the memories of our best and dearest ones.

"I trust you keep fairly well. I follow you at a distance of only two years.

"With much respect, very sincerely yours,

"T. T. CARTER."

We gather from a letter to a friend that Canon Carter "was occupying himself in making up the 'Notes'" which he had kept of Retreats given many years ago. These were published by Messrs. Longmans in 1893, together with a reprint of the Essay on "The Church and the World," which first appeared in 1868. The book is dedicated "To the reverend memory of Bishop Wilberforce, in grateful remembrance of his earnest encouragement." It is an invaluable compendium on the subject, of which Mr. Carter was a master. Dr. Liddon used to describe him as "a fountain of spiritual thought." But to those who had the privilege of attending those Retreats at Cuddesdon, these notes seem sometimes but a faint echo of the reality—the person, the face, the voice, the assembly, the surroundings, all formed part of those spiritual epochs, for such they were to many a life. They were, in the main, original methods of treatment, not rigidly following the Ignatian course, though the author was then (1863) evidently acquainted with it, as, *e.g.* "Address 1.—The End of Man;" and St. Ignatius is referred to in the "Introduction," but the author states, "More formal methods since that day have naturally, in the order of things, systematized what were at first comparatively, so to say, unscientific."

It is scarcely necessary to say that Mr. Carter was himself an embodiment of the spirit of Retreat. His "recollectedness" of manner, his capacity for abstraction from outward things, his spirit of prayer, his natural gentleness—above all, his love for our Lord, marked him out in the beginning as one splendidly equipped for work of this kind. It seemed to him to be no effort; he did not "give" meditations merely, but

made them at the time. They were like "living water" from the spring.

In 1898 Mr. Carter issued a circular, convening a number of "representative priests" for conference at St. Saviour's Hospital, Osnaburgh Street, as to limits of Ritual. This had been brought about through a few of the clergy in London and elsewhere having gone beyond the "Six Points," which had been almost from the beginning the Ritual ultimatum of the Oxford Movement. In the earlier days of this revival, a committee of elected clergy was formed for the purpose of giving advice upon such matters, when the High Church clergy moved as a body, and deferred to their leaders. Each felt that not only the interests of their own parish or congregation were at stake, but the Catholic movement; and the introduction of any unauthorized ceremonial might not only impede progress, but be the cause of losing ground already won. The Bishop of L—— is reported to have appealed to those whom he thought guilty of excesses to accept what was carried out at this meeting, but without success. Mr. Carter adds, "I am glad we had our testimony, and trust it will gather sympathizers." But on the other side, he adds—

"I see the danger you apprehend. I suppose the bishop's tendency will be to reduce. When I asked the B—— to allow the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sake of the sick, he let me do so, but would not give special license. It seems a fear that you will take an ell if you give an inch. It is so strange to me that they do not see that the way to stop perpetual reservation is to speak decidedly on the original permission to reserve for the sick. But, as you say, you cannot bind the bishops to maintain what we have won. I suppose in this [there is] a tendency of fear and suspicion."

"*May* 22, 1898.

"My dear ——,

"There is an interesting matter now going on, The Bishop of —— has appealed to —— to know. whether he and his companions would not now accept what

was carried at our meeting; but he and his companions declined, giving as their reasons what they had seen of the Bishop of —— not holding to true Episcopal rule and authority. Afterwards the Bishop of —— went to St. —— to confirm, and had a long conversation with the clergy, and I have not yet heard the final result. You will have seen what passed in Convocation. I am glad we had our testimony, and trust it will gather sympathies.

"Yours,
"T. T. C."

CHAPTER IX.

LITERATURE.

LITTLE has been said in this volume of Rev. T. T. Carter as a man of letters. His literary activity from early years to almost the close of his life was most remarkable. He wrote with extraordinary rapidity. His style demanded an attentive reader, because his sentences were often long, and sometimes involved. His busy pen was nearly always employed upon matters pertaining to the spiritual life. But while he was capable of high and sustained flights of devotion, his mental activity was commonly exercised in the sphere of the practical, and blended with the sweetness of his disposition and the evidences of a loving heart. At the beginning of his ministry as Rector of Clewer he manifested very great interest in the conditions of the dwellings of the poor, and started some plans of sanitary reform. This came to the ears of Prince Albert, and he sent to confer with him on the subject. The result of this interview was the formation of an association for the betterment of the households of the poor, which still exists, and is named the Prince Consort's Association at Windsor. The Rector also was the means of providing a Benefit Society on safe principles, in contrast, as to security, to those which had existed in the parish and from which the poor had suffered. Mr. Carter's earliest publication, which was issued in the year 1839, was entitled "Eton System of Education Vindicated." The next was upon the "Blessings of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," in the following year, about which mystery he has written so much

since. Then followed, in 1836, a paper on the "Duties and Blessings of the Christian Sabbath."

It is quite impossible within our limits to give a sketch of his literary life from 1836 to 1899, when he published his last work, a volume of sermons, entitled "The Spirit of Watchfulness." There are two remarks to be made on this volume—one, that it is an evidence of his mental and spiritual power in his ninety-first year; the other, a near relative observes upon the sermon in this volume for St. Paul's Day, p. 284: "It seems to me that what he says in his sermon on St. Paul's Day on 'the consecrated life' may be said of himself." Two works on the "Doctrine of the Priesthood" and the "Doctrine of Confession," published in the fifties, were the outcome of addresses, which Mr. Carter delivered before the members of the Clerical Society of the two deaneries of Burnham and Bray, and were dedicated to the brethren of that Society. It numbered some distinguished men in the locality, and the discussions were most interesting. Both of these books, in those early days, bear witness to the same *apparatus theologicus* as he made use of in riper years, and the same *fontes*—Holy Scripture, the "undivided Church," the records of antiquity, and the teaching of the Church of England. He maintained in the former book the Sacerdotal against the Presbyter view; and in the latter, makes full use of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Commission to the Priesthood, from Prayer-book and Bible, and the testimony of antiquity. These are samples of the author's controversial powers, his fairness in reasoning and calm temper. About the year 1860 Rev. T. T. Carter, as a preacher, was approaching the zenith of his powers. At All Saints, Margaret Street, he preached in the first Lent in the new church on Thursdays, and the sermons, which were upon "the Imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ," were published by Messrs. Masters. He dealt with "the definiteness" and "universality of our Lord's example," the "discipline of the will," etc. Two years later a volume of "Sermons," twenty-four in number, was published and

dedicated to "His parents," preserved far beyond the "days of our age." Some think this volume contains some of his finest discourses, dealing with such subjects as "The Value of the Soul," in which Scotist doctrine is favoured, and Creationism. Fuller teaching about the work of the Holy Ghost will be found in Sermons ii., xiv., xix., and xxi.

Canon Carter's powers in biography may be traced in his "Life of Bishop Armstrong," of "The Honourable Mrs. Monsell (Mother Harriet)," and of "Rev. Richard Temple West." To Bishop Armstrong's "Life" we have already had occasion to allude in the chapter on "Penitentiary Work." Mrs. Monsell's "Life" is too closely connected with the Community of St. John the Baptist, Clewer, of which she was Superior for a great number of years, to need further comment. Alternative years brought forth three more volumes of Lent lectures, entitled, "The Passion and Temptation of our Lord" (in 1862), "The Life of Sacrifice" (1864), and "The Life of Penitence" (1866). In the first of these the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Stier for suggestions; and the "cardinal truth of the propitiatory virtue of our Lord's death" in the sixth discourse is forcibly treated, yet with the limits of the true theologian, as, *e.g.*, it is not the death viewed only as death, it is the obedience of the surrendered Will that gives to the Sacrifice its acceptableness. From 1879 to 1891 the author published a series of "Spiritual Instructions," which, we believe, were all delivered in the Chapel of Clewer House of Mercy. The topics which are treated are "The Religious Life," "The Holy Eucharist," "The Divine Revelations," "The Life of Grace," "Our Lord's Early Life," "Our Lord's Entrance on His Ministry." These "Instructions" are set in a somewhat higher key than ordinary sermons, in view of the persons to whom they were originally addressed. The one on the "Holy Eucharist" has gone into several editions, a sale probably quickened through Mr. Carter's position in the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. The addresses, although primarily prepared for the edification of Sisters, the purpose contemplated in them

"to cherish devotion and suggest materials for meditation," may well commend them to a wider circle of readers. The author says in his last preface, "Though there are unquestionably distinctive characteristics marking off a vocation to a Sister's life from other orders of life, and also laws and habits of life dependent on such a vocation peculiar to it; yet the highest spiritual views in fellowship with our Blessed Lord are common to all His elect."

Canon Carter was always strongly anti-Roman, yet the discussion between the Latin and English Communions had no great attraction for him; but when some one with whom he had a special tie and friendship was drawn away from the Church of England, he would write controversial letters which were of especial value, not only because of their substance, but for the absence of acrimony of spirit and of exaggeration of statement, which commonly are found in this species of literature. The book, "The Roman Question in Letters to a Friend," was first published anonymously, as the work of an "aged priest." A re-issue, however, soon followed with the author's name. The letters were written in no polemical spirit, nor for any controversial purpose, beyond that of retaining a person who had become "shaky" in the fold of the Church of England. Canon Carter felt strongly, that whatever temptation may have existed in the earliest days of the Oxford Movement, now it was sufficient evidence of its vitality and reality to point to its fruits—the transformation of the Church of England. Such a witness to him seemed to be enough "si monumentum requiris circumspice." He touches upon, in these "Letters," a few salient points in the controversy between England and Rome. He regarded the unity of the Church as depending upon the Episcopacy and the Sacraments. That the Church can be outwardly divided, he answers by pointing to the "permanent breach" between Rome and the great ancient Churches of the East.

The author quotes a number of Patristic authorities and commentators against the interpretation that the rock in St. Matthew xvi. 18, 19, is St. Peter, and against the assumption

that the commission was only given to that Apostle. He held strongly that the Apostles had a world-wide commission, and was inclined (with Professor Salmon) to trace the idea of St. Peter's Roman Episcopacy to the influence of the "Clementine Homilies," a spurious writing. The book shows the author's clear historical knowledge of the question he is debating; and his fairness and calmness are everywhere manifest, as well as his reverent spirit. He thought submission of the intellect absolute and entire was wrong, that the highest line was not to divest one's self of one's endowments and responsibilities, and "to abandon all mental exercise in matters which most deeply concern one's eternal interests."

Mr. Carter occupied some portion of his declining years in writing and editing devotional works. We must also name three volumes, in which we have samples of his parochial teaching during the long period, nearly thirty-six years, when he was Rector of Clewer. The contents of these will show his capacity for adapting himself to an ordinary congregation and to the poor; these "Parish Teachings" have a special value in this respect. They are entitled "The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," drawn from Holy Scripture and the Records of the Church of England, the Lord's Prayer and other services, the Apostles' Creed and Sacraments. In 1893 he brought out "Retreats, with Notes and Addresses." They are memories of Chislehurst, Cuddesdon, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Hurstpierpoint, and Cowley. Together with these "Notes" there is a reprint of his Essay on Retreats in "The Church and the World," which was written in 1868. These "Notes" many prize who attended those devotional gatherings, but they miss the influence of the conductor which accompanied his words, and the author fears "that these 'Notes' give but roughly the substance of the addresses." There is no attempt at completeness in this brief survey of the works of which Canon Carter was the author. The difficulty is still greater when we attempt to enumerate those works which he edited, or for which he contributed Introductions, etc. He wrote a Preface to "Notes and Questions on the Catholic Faith,"

from the works of Dr. Pusey, a book which has attained a large circulation. He edited so carefully as to render himself responsible (as has already been written) for "The Treasury of Devotion." Other well-known works, "compiled by a priest," "The Way of Life," "The Path of Holiness," "The Guide to Heaven," "The Star of Childhood," "Simple Lessons: A Book of Private Prayer." Besides these, "A Manual of Devotion for Sisters of Mercy" (8 parts, in two volumes). "Nicolas Ferrar," and "John Kettlewell" were not only edited by Canon Carter, but he also wrote an Introduction to each of those works, touching upon the history of the times, and in the second of these volumes he traces the springs of modern parties in the Church of England to the time of the Nonjurors.

The author also prepared a volume of Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, for use on special occasions and holy days; and a Book of Family Prayers, which has gone into a great number of editions. It is impossible to include here the numberless letters, articles, and contributions of various kinds to reviews and newspapers. There is only one thing which should be added to this account, so far as it goes, of the products of his mental activity and busy pen, which is this—there is a manifest unity of *purpose* in it all—to make God more known, more loved, and more served. This runs like a golden thread through all his writings and publications. Though he loved books, reading them and writing them, he was not, we repeat, a student or "literary man." All he did in this way was but a means to an end—to glorify God by his service to man. This was the secret of his untiring industry. His last published words sum up all: "To God, the Giver of all, be glory and thanksgiving for ever, and may His Presence ever be the desire of the soul that trusts in Him."

Canon Carter had a special devotion to the Eucharistic Mystery, and was the Founder of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and presided over it as Superior-General for a number of years. He had felt the great neglect of this

Holy Mystery manifested by slovenly celebrations and unprepared communicants, and those comparatively few. At the beginning the following leaflet was circulated more than forty years ago, and he has written and spoken much since upon this sacred mystery :—

At the Formation of an Association.

It is proposed to form an Association for united prayer as our best hope of preserving, in our present hour of trial, the fulness of the Catholic Faith, inherited from our fathers, thus casting ourselves on the promise of our Lord, "If two of you shall *agree* on earth touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done for you of My Father, Which is in Heaven."

The bond of union is to be the use of fixed prayers for the preservation of the full deposit of dogmatic truth committed to the Church, especially all such doctrine as touches its Sacramental character.

The engagement of those who join this Association is "to use the prayers agreed upon for a year, commencing with Lent, 1857, on the Friday in every week, and at every celebration of the Holy Eucharist at which they may be present;" the daily use of the prayers being desired, where such greater frequency can be sustained.

Any who desire to join this Association are requested to state their desire to the friend who supplied this paper.

It is not thought expedient to keep a *general registry of the names* of those who join. Friends will of course know to whom they have supplied a copy of the prayers; and it is thought desirable only to know, as far as possible, the total number of persons who thus combine.

Prayers of the Association.

Lent, 1857.

O Almighty God, Who hast instructed Thy holy Church with heavenly doctrine, and committed to it the stewardship of Thy mysteries, we give Thee hearty thanks for the full deposit of the Faith and Sacraments entrusted to us; and we pray Thee to enable us, in this our day of trial, to preserve it uncorrupted, and to hand it down to our children's children, to the glory of Thy Name, and the salvation of the souls of Thy people; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to all Bishops and Pastors, to maintain and set forth Thy truth in its fulness, and to every member of this Association, to be sound in faith, holy in life, and conformed to Thy holy will in all things; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Any Special Prayers may here be added.

We beseech Thee, O Lord, pour the spirit of Thy love into our hearts, and unite all whom Thou feedest with the One Bread from heaven, in one faith, hope, and charity, and in outward communion when it shall seem good in Thine eyes; through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Our Father, etc.

And his last address to the Confraternity before he retired dealt with the Holy Sacrament. He said—

"We may look with thankfulness to Almighty God for our extensive growth from the day on which a small band gathered in the parlour of All Saints, Margaret Street, of whom the greater part have passed to their rest. During the interval we have seen great progress, for which we have continually prayed. We have seen the faith we hold extending itself, till we fear its fashionableness may eat out its true depth. We have seen the symbolic ritual spreading daily and at last sealed with authority. . . . We have seen Reservation for the Sick steadily growing, and in some cases with due authority, and this in both kinds, as it surely ought to be. And in speaking of Reservation, may I add for myself that I can see no authority of a Catholic kind for services founded on such Reservation. We may certainly say that Benediction is only the use of a very few late centuries. . . .

"While we thankfully recognize this continual progress in the main features of Eucharistic truth and practice, we may surely count it our special blessing in our portion of the Western Church that we have the Catholic Liturgy in our own tongue, 'understanded of the people,' and our Communion in both kinds, thus keeping our Eucharist as our Blessed Lord ordained. We are surely right in thankfully preserving these our special privileges, fruits of long and painful conflict."

It will be seen by these last words that Canon Carter, in his great devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, was to the end against the spirit which disparages everything English and exalts everything foreign; and he made his stand on behalf of "our Church's true position," and would only accept developments when they were consistent with apostolic and primitive belief and practice. The Roman denial of our Orders was to him "Roman self-assertion," and only should call forth "a calm re-affirmation" of our position.

The following brief retrospect is in Canon Carter's own words, and will call up many memories:—

"My sympathies drew me to All Saints, Margaret Street, and to Upton Richards, as a centre, and this the more when I undertook the Lenten courses there. He and I were alike embarked in the Church movement, and this with a common mind to promote moderate action in the great Ritual struggle. There we often met to consult, and more than once communicated with the bishops, seeking to bring about, if possible, some *locus standi*. T. W. Perry was also of one mind with us; and Chambers of Soho. Then it was that we resolved, with a view of establishing a settled doctrine, and a basis of teaching as to main principles, according to what we believed to be Church of England truth, to form the 'Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.'

"There met for this purpose, besides Upton Richards and myself, Chambers, Perry, Cosby White, Charles Lowder, Lyall, Mackonochie, and Robert Brett. We met in the common room of the Clergy House. The Manual shows what our principles were. To prove our desire to preserve a moderate line, it seems sufficient to say that we would not make an absolute rule of Fasting Communion."

CHAPTER X.

CHARACTER.

It is very difficult to portray the character of a person whom one may have known for a great number of years most intimately, to present him in a book as he really was, to those who have never known, perhaps never seen him. Some regard the subject of this Memoir as an ecclesiastical firebrand; others, as a great student; others, again, as an unapproachable ascetic. He was really none of these. He was, it is true, mixed up with many controversies, in some taking the lead; but he hated prominence and disputes, and loved unity and peace. The keenness which he manifested when what he believed to be the true doctrines and practices of the Church of England were assailed, and forbidden by Courts which, in his opinion, were not invested with any spiritual authority, arose from his vivid realization of Divine things. Position, place, honour, gain, ease, are objects which would not have a feather's weight with him, when in the opposite scale some doctrine or ceremonial of the Catholic Church was assailed. The following letter, which is characteristic and bears no date, but appears to refer to the disturbance caused by the Bath Judgment, was written to Butler of Wantage, with whom Carter of Clewer, half a century ago, worked heartily, especially in those early days, in defence of the Faith.

"Dear Butler,

"I have given my name. It is with diffidence, and with the reverence I feel for our bishop, that I differ

from his view, though I hardly see how he could have said otherwise. But (1) I do not see that it is another article, it seems to me only an assertion of truth we have held. It pained me more than I can tell you to act as an individual in such a matter; but how else can we act?—not in Synod, diocesan or provincial, in such a matter. Our bishops cannot act except individually. (2) I cannot feel that our pulpits meet the case of a public wrong. We have a double charge, one a pastoral sphere, and one ecclesiastical. This comes under the latter. If we cannot speak regularly in this, what is left but to do it irregularly? Spain was driven to guerilla warfare against the French, and we seem in a like case. Individual protest has always been the refuge in extreme cases according to Catholic custom. We are *in extremis*, I feel, in this respect. (3) It does furnish the list of a few names, and the enemy may cut us down piecemeal. But this seems to me better than remaining perfectly silent about it and leaving them to say, 'You accept it, and you dare not speak out.' Our strength would be in united action; but this is now impossible, and the next ground of strength appears to me in bearing witness, and transmitting our witness now; it may tell for us one day, if not now. Prayer is, indeed, the great strength, and I trust that on this protest will be founded a brotherhood for revival of the truth[1] about the Blessed Sacrament.

"But I do not see what strength there is in not speaking, for in the Courts of Law, etc., the enemy have it their own way, and in a few years the popular mind succumbs to the legal decisions.

"Of the *time* I know not: It may be premature; but at last we cannot do otherwise, and then we have already protested against the Court of Appeal, and cannot recognize it; and what we protest against now is no less a matter than a heretical sentence of the Metropolitan, and this, I suppose, is sufficient cause.

"If the cause were quashed on technical grounds, there still remains the archbishop's sentence, and this needs some set-off against it; and in the appeal, what are we to expect? I cannot hope that a Committee, formed by the present Government, and backed by the popular voice, will overrule a judgment of the archbishop. I should like to know what the bishop means by saying, 'It will stand greatly *in our*

[1] This was done by the Founder of the C. B. S. many years after.

way.' What is in his mind to do? or what can even he do? What has he done to remedy the Gorham matter? This is a far more difficult matter, and with less of sympathy.

"I do not write as if I were shaky. I have no temptation to be so, thank God! I am resolved to die at my post, or, if driven from it, die anyhow where Andrews, Ken, Wilson, etc., have left their bones.

"But I feel I cannot be where I am without clearing my own conscience, by asserting that what one of our brethren is deprived for, I hold; and I see no help but in this clearing of individual consciences.

"I do not write as seeking to persuade you who can judge much better, and have this strong witness of our bishop with you; but only to clear myself in your eyes, and to show that it has not been heedlessly done, that I have resolved on what I felt could not but be opposed to his view, and an individual acting, but could not do otherwise—*salva conscientia.* God bless you ever and all your work.

"Your ever affectionate friend,

"T. T. CARTER."

The fervour and courage which are breathed in this letter, and the restful faith in the Anglican Communion, were marks of Canon Carter's spirit throughout his life. He never doubted the triumph of the cause; he was too convinced that he had truth on his side and *magna est veritas, et prævalebit.* The calm courage, the dignity of bearing, and lovable smile, all combined with wonderful humility, were evidences of a great personality. Those who knew him almost throughout his clerical life, speak of his marvellous industry and self-sacrifice on behalf of what he conceived to be the best interests of the Church of England—her spiritual well-being; and thus he was drawn into controversy by the encroachments of Erastianism. We find in a published letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed with a force and clearness which had great effect, the grounds upon which he lamented the declension of spiritual power in the Established Church, and the interference of Parliament with Church Courts. We will make a quotation: "When we come to the latter period of the Georgian era, there is a constant interference. The

cause of this striking difference is obvious. During the former period, at least its greater part, Convocation was in the full exercise of its functions; and the mutual action between Church and State was preserved with more or less of comparative fairness and mutual recognition of each other's rights. The terms of the compact were ordinarily, at least, observed. It was during the spiritual condition of the Georgian era, after Convocation had been suppressed, that the new order commenced, and the Church being practically silenced, the State intruded itself more and more into the spiritual demesne. Some corrective power doubtless was needed, and the torpid Church, past feeling any wrong to its spiritual life, acquiesced." Canon Carter protested strongly against that "darkest and most degraded period" being quoted as "our normal state," in order to bolster up "a prescriptive right of interference," and to make it appear as though a degenerate state of things was "the proper and intended relation between Church and State." The author here gives a succinct history of the facts, "the history of what has passed *since* the Reformation as to the regulation of procedure in our Ecclesiastical Courts," which, so far as we are aware, has not been called in question. In all this, on the other side he most clearly lays down that "all coercive jurisdiction proceeds from the Crown; that Canons in conflict with statutes of the realm are *ipso facto* void; and that Canons require the sanction of the Crown." He does not uphold one power by making inroads on the other; his argument does not extend to pre-Reformation times, he only clearly traces the decadence of a great constitutional principle, the Church's jurisdiction, as collateral with that of the State, each in its proper sphere; and a wrong done to the Church's jurisdiction was a "wrong done to its spiritual side."

We have gone a little into this point because it explains many of Mr. Carter's incursions into the arena of controversy, which have made him to be regarded, by those who did not know him, as an "ecclesiastical firebrand."

His historical capacity was of no mean order. His keen eye quickly seized upon any incursion of civil into spiritual jurisdiction, and whilst strongly in favour of Establishment, he clearly saw the *fons jurisdictionis* was different in the temporal and spiritual powers, and the sphere and object of their respective exercise. His "Letters" to the Archbishop of Canterbury on "A True Phase of Anglo-Catholic Principles," "A Further Plea for Constitutional Liberty and Constitutional Order," "The Rightful Claim of the Church of England," were in dignity, substance, and tone all that could be desired. We remember what a calming effect these publications had at the time upon those who had been disturbed by recent events. In one of these he traces the encroachments of the secular upon the spiritual jurisdiction. These "Letters" were not merely called forth by the immediate exigencies of controversy, but were evidently the result of long brooding upon the question of jurisdiction, and of accurate acquaintance with the history of the Church of England and of the Prayer-book, which is bound up with that history, since the Reformation. Canon Carter had a great hatred of Erastianism, as the enemy of spiritual jurisdiction and spiritual life.

The following letter is one of the numberless testimonies we have to the sweetness of his disposition and absence of acrimony in dealing with controversies:—

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"The enclosed cutting from a paper about ten years ago (1890) reproduces a communication which I received from the late Canon Carter. I trust the same may be of use to you. I think it valuable, because we have therein his own words upon the subject of his resignation (1880). I knew the writer for about twenty-five years, and was, I believe, of some use to him in furnishing him with some statistics, for which he so kindly mentions my services in reports extending over many years.

"He asked me to call at his house, which I did from time to time by appointment. I was exceedingly impressed by his *conciliatory* disposition. He perceived and valued *all* that was good, and was ever 'on the look-out' for points of

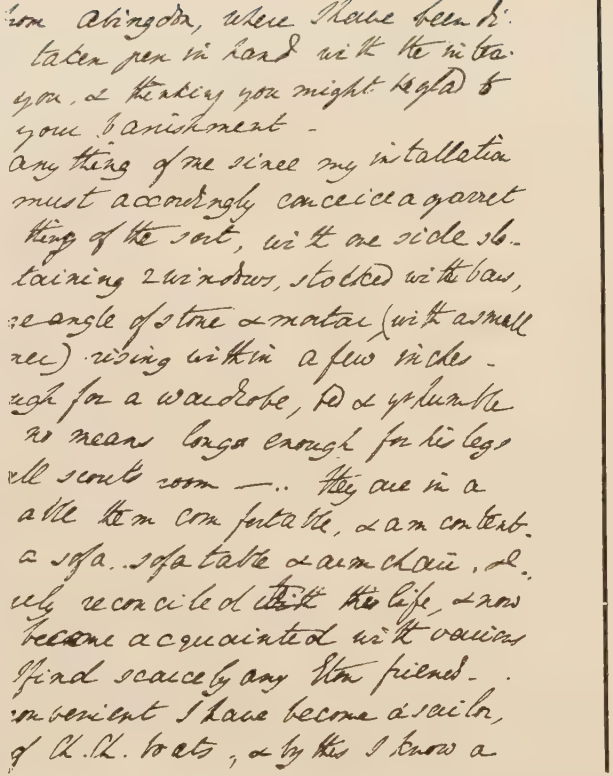
agreement. The standpoint he maintained whenever principle was involved did not prevent overflowing charity and perfect gentleness. His virtues are well known to you. Indeed he was the most 'lovable' of men.

"Yours etc.,

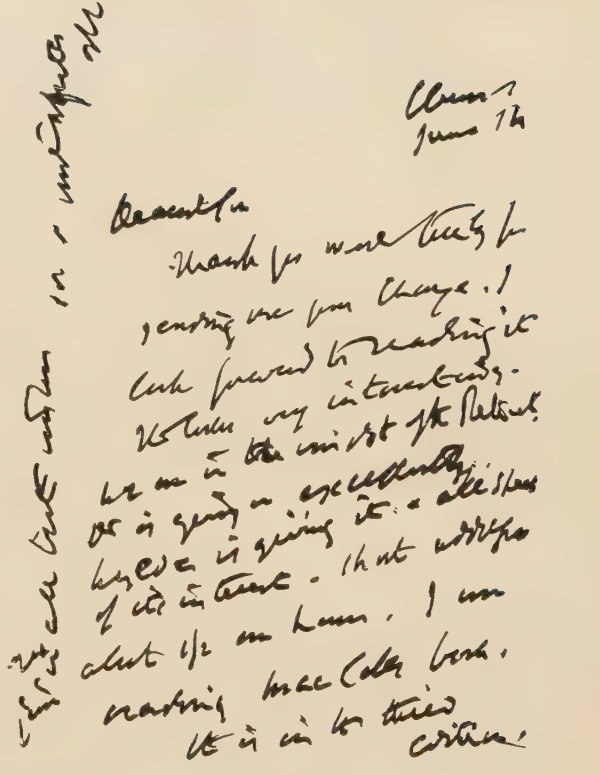
"F. F. B."

He was not naturally a particularly fluent speaker; he needed a little time to get into his subject, and to be deeply stirred with it; like the Psalmist, "the fire kindled, and at the last I spake with my tongue." The hearer felt that he was in the presence of *mind*, not merely words. The *present* operations of the mind found an outlet through the tongue. But when suddenly called upon "to say a few words" when a spiritual theme was being discussed, even in a vast assembly like a Church Congress, he would rivet the attention, and dispel all acrimony from the debate. We heard it said when he sat down, "It flowed out of his mouth like honey."

Then Canon Carter was regarded as a great student. Those who knew him best would not say this. His time was too much taken up with spiritual affairs to admit of his being a book-worm. He would give unstinted time to strangers who sought his help when tempted or troubled, and long hours were spent daily in spiritual work in reconciling sinners or ministering to the Saints. Here, too, must be noticed the enormous correspondence which occupied much of his valuable time—ungrudgingly given. Persons in all parts, who had not the slightest claim upon his time and attention, applied to him for guidance and help in every kind of difficulty and sorrow. This continuous occupation of his time and his pen brought about those cryptic characters, almost undecipherable, with which so many are familiar, who during advancing years corresponded with him. In early life he wrote a beautiful hand. We print a specimen of his writing at the age of twenty and at the age of ninety, which will be sufficient proof of this statement.



from Abingdon, where I have been h:
taken pen in hand with the intra
you, & thinking you might regard b
your banishment -
any thing of me since my installatia
must accordingly conceive a garret
thing of the sort, with one side ob-
taining 2 windows, stocked with bau,
one angle of stone & mortar (with a small
rec) rising within a few inches -
ugh for a wardrobe, bd & ye furnitu
to mean longa enough for his legs
ill scant room —.. They are in a
able item comfortable, & am content.
a sofa. sofa table & arm chair, al.
ully reconciled to this life, & now
become acquainted with various
I find scarcely any other friend -
convenient I have become a scribe,
of A.L. Poets, & by this I know a



Chelsea
June 14

Dear Sir

Thank you most kindly for
sending me your Charge. I
look forward to reading it
& shall see my intentions.
I am in the midst of Rabelais
& is going on excellently,
however is giving it a decisive
of its interest - that will be
about 1/2 an hour. I am
reading Miss Coleridge's book.
It is in the third
edition!

"The art of judging of the character of persons by their writing," says Disraeli, "may become an instrument guided by and indicative of the natural dispositions." "Assuredly Nature would prompt every individual to have a distinct sort of writing, as she has given a countenance, a voice, and a manner." Perhaps this is only a general rule, and writing may be reduced to a mechanical process. But with authors the rule that writing and style reveal character especially holds good, and "the handwriting bears an analogy to the character of the writer, as all voluntary actions are characteristic of the individual." No doubt, in the case of Canon Carter, the amount which he wrote, and the swiftness of his composition, had much to do with the form his handwriting ultimately assumed.

Of human nature he was a student; that book he knew well, disfigured with sin or transfigured by grace. He was not a student in the sense of a man who spent hours daily upon theological treatises, the writings of the Fathers and Schoolmen, or modern divinity; yet he loved books, and was often found to be acquainted with those just published, which he would read when journeying, and occasionally get so absorbed in thought as to step at a junction into a wrong train. He was a daily reader of the *Times*, and often at night after dinner would read aloud to his daughters.

In his later days he often wrote kneeling on one knee, and without sufficient hold on the paper, so that the writing twisted about, and perhaps ended in a corner of the page. The obscurity of his writing often led to curious mistakes. A bishop received a letter from him which he was unable to decipher, and looking for the name of the writer at the end, misread it as "A. Tartar," and was only reassured that it was not from some rude assailant by his chaplain informing him that the signature was "T. T. Carter," of Clewer. On another occasion a letter marked "private" was received by a clergyman during breakfast in London, who being unable to read it, passed it round the table, with the result that it still remained "private," though each guest had essayed to read

it. One more instance of this difficulty. A clergyman arrived at Clewer from Bristol to preach a Lenten sermon at the parish church, and when in the vestry he suddenly discovered that he had forgotten his manuscript, so he said he could not preach. Mr. Carter quieted his feelings by saying he would lend him one of his sermons, with which document the stranger ascended the pulpit, only to discover that he could not decipher a line. He said afterwards the handwriting was as if some small bird had dipped his claws in ink and walked across the page. It was an open secret that a special man was kept for reading his "copy" at a printing-house in London. Still, though it must be admitted that it was difficult to read his writing, it was not carelessly written, but every sentence was formed and word written with an accuracy which, when the writing was deciphered (if examined with a glass), left no stroke or twist unemployed in constructing the words. But familiarity with his mode of expression, as well as with his letters, was a necessity, especially in his later days. Writing is, no doubt, truly said to be a revelation of character, and in the case of Canon Carter, though the burden of a great correspondence may have had something to do with the form which his hand ultimately assumed, his writing certainly also bore witness to something unique in character, and was an evidence of *strength*.

His sermons, especially in the later years of his life, unless on exceptional occasions, were not written. They bore the marks of earnest prayer and the knowledge of souls rather than of profound study—in fact, they were spiritual effusions; but there was a logical substratum to them, which held the parts firmly together. They were never sentimental or emotional, but calm and thoughtful. Whilst we should not attribute to him great oratorical powers, there was in his preaching the evidence of deep personal conviction; intense, though restrained, earnestness; spiritual insight; unvarying refinement; and intellectual grasp of the subject in hand; manifest love of God and of human souls,—qualities sufficient to draw the wicked and depraved from a life of sin, and the faithful

to a life of absolute self-oblation. His voice, though not strong, was clear and sweet and penetrating, high-toned, and evidently responsive to the movements of his soul. Besides all this, he had a fine presence, the stature and *physique* of a Guardsman, and the face of a Saint. His eyes seemed to quicken and glow with fire when he became animated, and when he returned into the vestry after preaching, the clergy have noticed this strange look of fervour.

Mr. Carter was a quick reader, and seemed able to extract the pith of a treatise (as reviewers do) without pausing long on introductory matter or subsidiary thought, and with equal rapidity he would express a judgment upon the work or its tendency. In many letters these traits are conspicuous. *E.g.*: "You see how M. follows G. in putting aside the Fathers and working on the Scripture independently." "M. has had in America a rather sharp censure." "It is a sad tendency of our time." "I was reading last night Creighton on the Papacy. What an interesting and reliable book it is!" "I have been going carefully into M.'s book. I have thought it will lower Baptism. He has evidently expended an immense amount of labour upon it; it will raise Confirmation, which is a good thing. But can you attach any definite idea to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, beyond an increase of the gift of the Holy Ghost? Does not indwelling imply a personal possession of a peculiar kind, so as to make one His instrument, or otherwise only gifted?" "I read G.'s sermons last night, and saw the great deficiencies as to the Atonement, of which the Bishop of O. had told me. I suppose him to mean a passive, inactive state of the Divine Personality, leaving the whole virtue to the Manhood. He seems to set the value of the Sacrifice on the Cross to the perfectness of the obedience of the Man, not to the underlying power of the Divine Personality, imparting to the suffering of the Manhood an Atoning Power." "I am also reading Ryle's work on the Canon of the Old Testament. What a dead set there is against Pusey's view of Daniel!" "I am reading Pusey's 'Daniel' a second time, as a refreshment

after D.'s book. Surely Pusey's view will rise again and prevail! I cannot but feel that the New Criticism will have its day and pass. I am very glad of the line which Chapter II. took. I regret the line of G." "The Bishop of G. and B., in the *Times*, approves of the Declaration," *i.e.* on "Inspiration."

It is hardly necessary here to enter upon the question, What was Mr. Carter's attitude towards what is termed the "Higher Criticism?" The Declaration, printed in another part of this book, sufficiently reveals that. Mr. Carter had an intense reverence for Holy Scripture, and he feared the new mode of dealing with the contents of the Old Testament might weaken the faith of English people, who very often built their convictions on the letter of Holy Scripture, and very often have but a faint realization of the authority of the Church. Mr. Carter viewed things from within; and if he found that the "Higher Criticism" had done damage to souls or injured faith, that would be one ground of opposition. It is not enough to point to the atmosphere of his early life at Oxford, and his associations, and his "length of days," to account for his posture towards the new teaching. He assimilated much new truth in his time, and had an "open mind," and showed a readiness for assimilation of all that was true and good; but he thought the new teaching an untrustworthy guide, with no definite ultimatum. Moreover, his reverence for our Lord's use of the Old Testament he thought involved the traditional view; and that, to disparage His reference, *e.g.*, to Noah, the Flood, etc., involved a belief in the limitation of his knowledge or truth, which he, with so many, regarded as inconsistent with the teaching of the Catholic Church on the Incarnation. Mr. Carter regarded the Holy Scriptures as "the daily food of the people." In a letter, printed elsewhere, will be found that this meditation on the Word of God he thought supplied our people with food which the Church of Rome sought to provide by modern devotions of a sentimental character. This was his view, and therefore any tampering with the inspired Scriptures touched,

in his mind, the constant food of our people. Moreover, he was thrown back when he attempted to apprize the value of the Higher Criticism by the extravagances of some higher critics, and the tone of irreverence in some of the lecture-rooms in Germany, or such statements as that of St. George Mivart, that what theologians have taught for centuries "may not have a shadow of foundation in fact." Such views may indeed unsettle minds, especially amongst ourselves, who have not "the formal decrees of the Sovereign Pontiff teaching the whole Church *ex cathedra* as to faith and morals" to turn to, when the "trustworthiness" of Holy Scripture seems to be sinking under our feet.

"My dearest ——,

"I am sending you the Review of L.'s book. I am afraid it is too long. The chief lack of the book seems to me to be devotional. One would have wished some unction in it. We have had a pleasant ramble on the coasts of Cornwall, Lizard, Land's End, Tintagel, Bude, etc.; one main point, we were delighted with Truro Cathedral. Cornish-coast air is really quite bracing. The churches are all interesting, generally restored, ritual good, early celebrations everywhere; but the Church is very weak, alas! I should resign that position, only one feels one must stand against the rigorist and extreme party. It seems to me a clear duty. There are certain who are determined on enforcing fasting communion, or leaving the Society.

"I have enjoyed my time very much at Beer, on the side of a hill, the house just overlooking a beautiful cove; and, as I sat and wrote, I could see all that passed—all alive with fishermen and bathers; and just above a wide range of moor-land, delightful to walk, and on to the highest point of the cliff we could see from Portland to ——, very beautiful; and several expeditions around my old friend Woodcock's, within about twelve miles just beyond Axminster. A good church and priest at Beer. You may know him—C. H., son of a Devonshire man, once Inspector of Schools, Diocesan. The sale of 'Catholic Religion' is a good sign, at least, of interest in Church matters. My friend A. has been working at 'Anglo-Saxon Saints,' and has a whole series. The new appointments appear to be good. Bishop Temple seems to

me able to deal with the present educational matters well. All seem to welcome the Bishop of Peterborough. I only trust this appointment will not put off the next volume of his 'History of the Papacy during the English Reformation.'

"We have a large parochial mission going on—Illingworth giving lectures to the upper set, Bickersteth doing excellently; and Ives and Cowie at St. Stephen's, and Buxton at Dedworth. Errington had well laid the preparations. I was at two of Illingworth's lectures. They were simple, on the graces of the spiritual life.

"Your ever affectionate

"T. T. C."

"We are nicely placed for a while on the south rock at T. Sun all day, and the water at high tide washing the very base of the low cliff beneath our windows. The weather fine, except one shower last night. There are many interesting places near—old churches and castles. Miss M. has stirred up friends to invite, and we go to stay a day with the Dean of St. D. next week. To-morrow we go for a drive to some places beyond Pembroke. I have a note from H., asking me to preach, or rather, 'say a few words,' at the evening service. It is an enormous congregation, and I declined; but he nailed me for a harvest thanksgiving on Thursday. It is a fine church, a bright service; at the early celebration linen vestments and lights. There is a C. B. S. ward. Do you want that notice of Bishop W. now? I am sorry to say that I have delayed writing. I have been busy with B.'s Preface, and rather occupied with another volume of 'Spiritual Instructions'—rather venturesome. I am surprised at that article to which you called my attention. It was more wanting than I could have conceived possible from him in a view of the unseen state—rather an extinguisher of it. I am reading De L.'s letter a second time, and carefully. It struck me at first as fair, but, in its result, confirming the old view. Whether man will be influenced by its rather archaic line, I am questioning to myself. I had a talk with the Bishop of ——; he seemed to hope that the bishops will come as our *Deus in machinâ*, and I wrote to the Bishop of —— at his request, and another who is hampered by his connection with P. H., and has three of his chaplains among the 'Lux M.' set. I will see about that other article to-night. I am glad Sadler filled up the gap."

These extracts are given as affording further illustrations of Canon Carter in two lights—his intense love of nature, and his literary tastes and powers. It was as natural to him to write as to speak, and the industry of the man comes out, that even during a time of rest and change his pen was not idle. Canon Carter, it is needless to say, had great literary powers, not only in the way of rapid composition, but also (which may be a surprise to some), like Dr. Pusey, in the business part of the transaction. We do not mean as to any monetary advantage (which he never considered), but in regard to type, correction of proofs, publication, etc. Some authors will not correct their proofs, but get others to do this for them. Mr. Carter, on the contrary, would bestow the greatest care upon correcting and revising his proofs, often desiring a "revise" of the proof. He thought himself that he did not possess the fitting qualities for a reviewer, but one who had been a reviewer for many years, and might from experience be capable of taking an estimate, regarded Canon Carter as especially qualified for that kind of literary work. His critical judgment, his love of truth, his theological knowledge, his refined taste, his fairness, his courage, his character—elevated above all that is mean or self-seeking or truckling—all seemed to fit him for reviewing religious writings. In this, as in much else, his humility was sometimes an inconvenient virtue, causing him to undervalue his powers, whilst he was apt to magnify those of others. But few could equal him in those fields of thought with which he was familiar, as, *e.g.*, in the writings of the Caroline Divines and of the early Tractarians.

The third mistake in estimating the character of Thomas Thellusson Carter is that which makes him an unapproachable ascetic. Whilst self-sacrifice was the root-principle of his life, those who knew him well will bear witness to the intense brightness and joyousness of his spirit. Indeed, this has been, on the other side, exaggerated, so that the way he was able to bear his sorrows, his wonderful self-command, has been misinterpreted to mean an absence of natural affection. We

who know him best have seen this calm demeanour in the midst of bereavement and trouble, but we have also seen him turn aside and weep. He was intensely affectionate. His spiritual letters as well as family letters bear witness to the warmth of his affections. But in all troubles he was like Israel of old, who had light in their dwellings. No doubt that it was a very remarkable feature of his character, his perpetual brightness. Looked at from a natural standpoint, men are said to be naturally optimists or pessimists. Canon Carter, like Bishop Westcott, was doubtless an optimist; it was natural to him to look on the sunny side. We mention Bishop Westcott because there are several points of likeness between these two great men. They were both born optimists, and this type of character seems to us the disposition out of which Saints are mostly made. They never can believe that evil will be dominant in the end. Dark clouds are passing things, the sun behind them ever shines. Troubles, sorrows, losses, bereavements, are passing things, the ever and all pervading Love Divine will shine out when these have become things of the past. Canon Carter was, we admit, an optimist. To have seen him in the presence of death, to have seen him by the graveside, to have watched him when his dearest was being committed to the earth, was to have witnessed the tenderest human love, but never the sorrow which is without hope.

We earnestly desire in this Memoir to paint him as he really was, and to dissipate entirely any mistaken notion that he was like some sour ascetic who condemned innocent pleasures and never took part in them. He could delight in the simplest and most innocent forms of amusement. We have heard his voice lifted above the rest when the patients at St. Andrew's Hospital had their Christmas entertainment, and the men were singing some innocent song which he seemed quite to enjoy as he joined in the chorus. When the shadows of some trial darkened his home he would feel it most keenly, and bear everything with uncomplaining patience; but his delicate sense of humour never forsook him, even in the hour

of deep trial. He could take in a situation of strange contrast in a moment, and, if you knew him well, you would see by a look of the eye or a curl of the lip that though his heart was torn with sorrow, he saw the incongruity; and this sense of humour—a mark of the Saints—would seem for a moment to relieve the strain. In one thing he was particular, which was, not to overshadow others with any personal cloud of his own. In a time of most bitter trial he had to leave his home for the performance of some spiritual work for the bishop before ordination, and those with him wondered how he would act, whether, under the painful circumstances, he would go and fulfil the engagement or not. He went, and gave the addresses, and Canon F. said, "He never mentioned any trouble, and was really as bright as usual." It was this marvellous self-command which hid from others the pangs which he was suffering in his loving heart.

The following letter contains a true image of the man:—

"I recall a walk through the street at Ilfracombe one evening after dark with him, and our passing by a brightly lighted place where a cheap-jack was selling his wares; the crowd and the scene delighted him, and he joined it and stood watching and listening with the greatest interest, as a child might have done, and joining in the laughter."

In the same letter we have other remembrances of a different kind. The writer says—

"His appreciation of the sea and the rolling waves one stormy day is also vividly in my memory. One thing which impressed me in early days was the manner in which he went to read the Lessons, his unaffected reverence. . . . It is a great blessing to have known such a real Saint."

Canon Carter was most beloved, it might be imagined, in the House of Mercy, Clewer, by the Sisters, also by the Penitents, and especially by the Magdalens. In the old days, we speak of more than thirty years ago, the Magdalens had a sort of festivity at Christmas, when they were allowed to give

pleasure to other people. They had a Christmas tree in their sitting-room. To enliven the proceedings, mottoes were tried, though perhaps not very successfully. They presented Mr. Carter, as the Warden, with a pretty dress for his grandchild S. The gift was accompanied with the following lines, no doubt composed by the Sister-in-charge, or adapted to the occasion :—

> "There was an Abbot of Aberbrothock
> Who put a bell on the Inchcape Rock,
> But our good Abbot of Aberbrothock
> Shall place on Sybella a white cape frock."

Mr. Carter was not present, but before the evening was over he sent back the answer, with great delight; it shows his quickness and interest in everything. Answer—

> "The Inchcape bell shall still ring on,
> And so shall the thanks for the gift of love,
> While the beautiful robe the grandchild shall don,
> Shall speak of the glories of heaven above."

The last line is a key to explain that continuous brightness which so puzzled people whose eyes were fixed on the earth—it was a reflection !

Whilst Mr. Carter was in no sense a morbid ascetic, and entered with gusto into all innocent joys, it may be necessary also to show that though religious interests were ever supreme with him, he was not what has been styled "a man with one stop." He took deep interest in all that was passing around him, and was generally "up-to-date" with the political questions of the day—a Conservative in politics, but not narrow in his sympathies. The following letter will be an evidence of the estimate we are taking of the late Warden of Clewer's political sentiments—it is addressed to his son :—

"My dearest J.,

"I do indeed think that letter of Gladstone's to the Hyde Park mob a great mistake, inflammatory and unwarranted in his position. But I view it as an outburst of an impressible, passionate, enthusiastic temperament. To such

a mind as his, Dizzy's temper must be positively hateful and riling, often to past endurance; and even Lord Derby's, though better, is yet as cold as a north-easter; and G.'s feeling is that of distrust of the Government doing anything adequate to the occasion, nor, whatever Lord Derby's wonderful strong language said, was he likely to put a screw on the Turks firmly enough in act to set free those poor victims of their horrible Government. The Government (ours I mean) would, I verily believe, hush up anything if they could, and go on with their diplomacy and satisfied with promises which have been a hundred times falsified, for the Turk cannot free Christian subjects without ceasing to be a Turk. I cannot but think that we have lost a noble opportunity of freeing these poor Christians if we had taken a bolder line—what Russia is now doing. The *Saturday* seems to me to be taking a very low line, ascribing Russia's action wholly to ambition, as if to rescue members of their own race and their own Communion might not be imagined as a motive; and also calling Gladstone unpatriotic, meaning evidently thereby that he disregards the material interests of England in comparison with the claim of humanity and of Christianity. Even the old Pagan could say, 'Quicquid est humanum, &c.' No doubt Russia never has her eye off Constantinople, and the desire must ever be present, lest the passion which has evidently stirred the Russian people seems enough to account for the movement. And it is scarcely to be supposed, that, even if Austria were weak enough to allow it, Bismarck would ever permit Russia to get hold of the countries bordering the Danube, and so command all its course. Some day, no doubt, Russia will have a great share in Greece; I hope will possess Constantinople. But not yet. One's conversation sometimes reaches boiling-point. But Dizzy is enough to turn any sober man crazy.

"I am going to get back to where I began, for the late letters of Gladstone have damaged himself and his cause, but I think he laid hold of the real truth as to the necessity of getting rid of Turkish rule by strong measures, as the only hope of freeing these poor people from an intolerable and shameful tyranny. I am hoping that things will settle down, though a blaze might readily spring up. G. has a hope of sketching. We have occasional sunshine and pleasant walks. I hope all are well. With love to all.

"Ever your affectionate

"T. T. C."

This letter is especially valuable, not only as expressing Mr. Carter's views on political questions of the day, but because it is one of the very few letters we possess of that long period, over two years, when he had to sojourn abroad for the recovery of his strength after an illness which nearly proved fatal. We may give one more instance of Canon Carter's lighter vein, and the real happiness which he experienced in the happiness of others. At the age of eighty-four he travelled to the North of England to marry a daughter of an old friend, and the journey he accomplished seemingly without fatigue, giving an address at the conclusion of the marriage service in a crowded church. He entered with his usual keen interest into all the ceremonies and amusements which are common at Northern weddings, especially the foot-races. Fearing he might take cold, as the air was fresh, he was wrapped in a large shawl, to fasten which a lady lent him a brooch, which he had the misfortune to lose. It was afterwards found. But in the mean time he purchased another to make good the loss, and sent it with the following lines:—

"Let me repair
The lack of care
That happy day,
When all was gay
Except the hurry
And the flurry,
And the regret
At the sad forget
As to where was set,
When unable to find
What had been so kind
A loan to keep out
The cold from without,
And prolong the delight
Of that joyous night,
When all were bent
With affections true
In that great event,
Long planned before,
Of June 13, 1894.
T. T. C."

These lines are inserted here, because they contain a

revelation of Canon Carter's simple affectionate character and the joy which he experienced in the joy of others.

Those who knew Mr. Carter's habits well, will all bear witness to—as a marked feature of his character—his industry. His use of time, and sense of its value, were very noticeable. No trouble or pains ever seemed to be too great for him in doing good. Whilst we have said that he was not a student, perhaps "bookworm" would have been the better term. He read quickly, and took in what he read as quickly; and his mind approved or rejected with the same rapidity. He was sharp in detecting a flaw of inaccuracy; and if an argument, in seeing when it was carried too far. He had, too, that mark of genius in being dissatisfied with his own productions. He was ready to take or give a hint, with a smile which would disarm an opponent. Things which would provoke ordinary men would often with him call out laughter, he had such an unfailing fund of humour. He could be very business-like, though business was not his forte, and in such matters he was sometimes too trustful, sometimes to his great loss. On one occasion he engaged a curate without having seen him or inquiring his age; and when he arrived he was found to be quite an old man. The effect of this surprise, which would have vexed many a rector, was a merry outburst of laughter, and turning to a friend, he said, "Why, he is older than I am," and then again the merry peal. But to go back to his diligence. Until he was a very old man he rose early and celebrated the Blessed Sacrament before taking any food; but a cup of tea was brought to him immediately after the service. To see him walk, with his long strides and rapid movements, was an indication of his physical energy. With the exception of the two severe illnesses, he always enjoyed excellent health. This blessing, sanctified by grace, was, we believe, at the root of all. No invalid or weak person could have accomplished half what he did. He laboured from morning till night, and sometimes late into the night. No pains were too great to achieve anything for God. An instance occurs to us, quite in his earlier days.

He had written an address upon some important subject, which he was to deliver the next day to the clergy (we think, but we are not sure) at Salisbury. At night he feared what he had prepared was not quite what was wanted, and so he set to work to write another paper; this took him far into the night, or rather morning, when some one, finding he had not gone to bed, came in search of him, and found him writing, and sheets of paper covering the table and part of the floor, the fruits of the midnight toil. This was but an instance of his persevering diligence. The same trait of character was manifest in his travels. In the examination of some ancient building, or a picture, or a document, he would not be content until he had seen everything. He would go down on his knees to decipher the inscriptions, and imperil the catching of a train in this eagerness for research. He had great capacities for enjoyment, and a wondrous way of shutting off anxieties and trials, especially when in the midst of beautiful scenery. At a time when his troubles about the resignation of his parish were nearly at a climax, he went off to Scotland and refreshed himself with the sight of the Scotch mountains, about which he wrote with great delight, which few could have done in the midst of so much anxiety. In all, he never seemed to be without the thought of God, and of spiritual things; seeing quickly at any turn some spiritual lesson which would suggest itself. When he was driving through a Yorkshire lane, the plough was making furrows across the fields by the side, and as the earth was turned up, great birds followed the plough in eager pursuit of worms. As he watched them with their keen eyes and long sharp bills, ever absorbed in seeking food, he said, "See their eagerness! see *their* eagerness!" that was all, except the look he gave, which showed his mind was occupied with the lesson these creatures taught us, of eagerness for the Supreme Good. On the moors he displayed the same delight, and though he was lame through a varicose vein from which he suffered in his leg, he wanted to walk across the expanse to get a fuller view of this natural grandeur, and it was with some difficulty he was

persuaded to get back into the carriage. He was delighted with Lastingham, and went down into the crypt. On his return, he rather complained that they would not let him go into the moors. He was then eighty-eight. He was also greatly interested with the old Gilbertine Church at Old Malton. He was no musician, yet he was very fond of hearing good music, especially the Passion music, and enjoyed going to St. Paul's. At the back of all this was the same trait of industry which seemed to know no limits, but *orare et laborare* ever went together.

His devotional powers seemed to be unlimited, and found expression sometimes in a plain and practical level, at other times in ecstatic language; and so he was able to provide food for the humblest matter-of-fact Christian, and for the souls of those who were climbing high the mountain-side and were capable of rapturous petition. Here is an instance of the latter, written in 1862—

"Thou givest me the sorest cross, I would that Thou shouldst not let me shrink from it. O let my real gladness, my real sorrow, be only for what draws me near to Thee, or draws me back from Thee. Dearest Jesu, fill up every void, satisfy every longing, be Thy Fulness felt in every loss. Thy loss for me be a perpetual gain, gain to me. Be Thou sweetness to my taste, brightness to my eyes, fervour to my heart, purity in my senses, rest in my weariness, perpetual music in my soul, supplying every loss.

"Let nothing depress me, if not forsaken of Thee, my secret joy, and nothing elate me, if Thou, my only true Life, are not with me. Hush all my complainings, dearest Lord, in the Bosom of Thy sweet Will, and enfold my being in Thy everlasting Arms. Give me to desire only what is in Thy Heart, and the grace to wait the fulness of my bliss.

"Keep Thou perfect stillness in my soul, that I lose no sound of Thy inward Voice, no breathing of Thy Spirit. Amen.

"O Jesus, Life of my life, Soul of my soul, move within me, inspiring every thought, directing every purpose.

"Spirit of light, Whose abode is within me, illuminate my understanding with Divine wisdom, and preserve in me a calm, clear vision of Thy revelation to my soul.

"I have chosen Thee, O my God, as my End. I would choose every means that best will bring me unto Thee.

"Clothe me with virtues; Fill me with devotion; Animate me with love; Give me, O God, a tender heart, inflaming me with love and holy desire; Restrain every movement; Still my heart, hush me to rest in Thy Bosom, O my God. Spirit of sanctity, Creator of all good, breathe into me humility and patience, calm recollectedness, meekness, unselfishness, holy joy, and charity that faileth not."

In a Time of Great Trial.

"My dear ——,

"I have just received your husband's letter, and look forward to meeting you on Monday in Paris. He tells me you have been expecting to hear. I believe I wrote after that special letter. It was certainly in my mind to do so. I am very sorry if there has been any mistake. I am afraid you have had a very trying time. But I have an inward conviction that you are through tribulation secretly being brought to the Heart of God; through these pangs, after dreariness and a taste of spiritual desolation, the soul is thus prepared for Divine gifts; this without Sacraments, God Himself working His own work. I have looked to this discipline of trial, unconsciously to yourself, being the instrument that God will thus use; and hereafter you will, perhaps, know more, as already you have seen how much you owe to trial and earthly loss. Your experience has led you many ways, beside the more direct sacramental mysteries. You have tasted of God and invisible things, through the faces of the mountains, their greatness and loveliness and stillness of earthly beauty; and we have seen more of God and felt more of the nearness of unseen worlds in your husband's pale face and anxious looks; and you know of the deep things of God as they come out in the conflict of feeling, in struggling with trials that come so *close* home in such searching intercourse. But all is well and leading onward to the blessed end, and the day will at last break and reveal all in the holiest light, and your soul's joy will break out in untold raptures, and the conscious Presence of God will bear you into the very Heart, there to be hushed in unutterable sweetness and joy. May He hasten the time and prepare

you for it. His blessing rest on you ever. With Mrs. C.'s M.'s, and G.'s love.

"Your loving
"T. T. C."

The Thought of Self.

"My dear ——,

"I am sorry to have been so long replying to your question. I need hardly say that what you describe clings to one's being beyond all else. It is the sense of one's self coming into everything. What we look to hereafter, when one is in God for ever, self will be lost, and the mere sense of what is true, holy, and good felt, all being ascribed to God, as the cause and end of all. Now we turn to self-praise what ought all to be for the praise of God. What we should seek for is to do the right, to do our best, and not to let the thought run on the idea 'that *I* did it.'

"The following means in the way of self-discipline help to this:—

"(1) To keep before the mind the truth, that it is not of myself, but of God in myself and through myself that does the good and exercises powers; that one is purely the creature, and how miserable a thing it is to take to one's self what He is pleased to give and work in one's self; it is like a servant acting for his master, and taking to himself the credit of his master's act. If one really saw the truth, it is a very sad vanity. You would see this in the case of a pretty person, magnifying herself for a pretty face. Is it not the same if the gift is of the mind and intellect?

"(2) To keep before me the thought of others who are greater, and who with the greatest gifts have been most modest, most self-forgetting, greater in this abstinence from any self-praise. How the greatest men have been the most humble, because they have seen something greater than themselves.

"(3) To recognize other people's greatness in one's own way or in other ways—greatness and goodness in any, and to give all credit, all honour, simply, if only to rejoice in others' gifts. True sympathy is to 'rejoice with those that do rejoice, and weep with those that weep.'

"(4) To accept gladly any disregard of one's self, any disrespect, any words of praise for others, any sense of failure, any word that questions what we have done or thought,

anything in some degree humiliating; to feel it a real gain, and thank God for it. I hope these few thoughts may help you. I know the difficulty, but it can be overcome. With all best wishes.

"Very sincerely yours,
"T. T. C."

"*Except three at the least, communicate with the Priest.*"

"My dear ——,

"I do not think that under such circumstances you need scruple to continue to celebrate, and take the chance of less than those being present. We have, I think, to bear in mind the *principle* on which our rubrics were framed, now that we are hindered from any change being made in them.

"There is no doubt that the object of the rubric was to prevent solitary Masses as a system. Such a cause as yours has no such character as was desired to be corrected, and there was no wish for the restoration of services which might have difficulties such as you experience. In such case, I should surely say you are in harmony with the spirit that animated the reforming movement.

"May God bless your endeavours.

"Very sincerely yours,
"T. T. C."

This letter is of value, as many have felt this difficulty of the rubric. Mr. Carter takes in the whole position, and acts upon the spirit rather than the letter. This well comes in the chapter upon "Character." He acted on the *mutatis mutandis* principle often, and a rigid and blind obedience to the letter whilst the purpose was lost sight of, would not commend itself to his mind.

Subjective Religion.

A singular instance of goodness and self-denial was brought before Canon Carter for his opinion as to purely *subjective* religion. The following letter is the answer. We ought to say that we have only a copy of his letter before us,

and that evidently written by some one who had not altogether mastered his hand.

"My dear ——,

"There have always been minds which have been influenced by purely subjective realization of God. We cannot limit the Holy Spirit's work, and such persons may be quite true and possessed with the belief of their God's work in them. But history has shown the extreme danger of such purely internal and subjective communion with God and heavenly things, and of the sad effects that may arise from such a view of religion. Some may be preternaturally guarded from such effects, while many have been seen to fall into them, self-confidence and self-conceit being the very least among such effects. God knows us better than we know ourselves, and He knows that we need an objective system of Sacraments for external use, or He would not have ordained them. Nothing can be clearer than the ordinances of Baptism, Absolution, Holy Communion, and of the necessity of membership with an organized body, and of the gifts of grace and peace being associated with such sacramental ordinances and fellowship. The same God Who by His Spirit speaks directly to the soul, gave us this system, as not only a channel of His grace, but also a witness and a guard, uniting the outward and the inward; and this undoubtedly is the Catholic order of Communion between our souls and Himself and Christian life.

"Without, then, wishing to judge these good people, we may safely say that it would be presumptuous to regard their state otherwise than an exceptional condition in the general order of God's dealing. Wesley and brother did a good deal to promote subjective religion and personal assurance; but he was at sixty years a strong 'vert (?) to Church system and Sacraments.

"Sincerely yours,

"T. T. Carter."

The gentle charity which pervades this letter shows Mr. Carter's character in its true light—his courtesy, whilst at the same time his firmness in asserting what he regarded as the truth. Though there were many in early days who did not understand or were incapable of appreciating his great

powers as a master of the spiritual life, there were some who foretold what he would become to the Church. The following letter from a great bishop, "Henry of Exeter," only expresses what was beginning to be felt in 1865, which we are permitted to transcribe.

"24, *Park Street, W., April* 1, 1863.

"REV. SIR,

"If you knew the gratification, and, I hope, edification, which I have derived from your sermons and lectures, you would not be surprised at my requesting you to give me an opportunity, whenever you may come to London, of expressing to you in person my sense of the deep obligation the Church owes to you.

"At the close of a long life, I look with humble confidence in God's mercy to that Church, in raising up you to be one of its lights.

"May the Spirit of Christ rest upon you!

"Believe me,

"Your very faithful brother in Christ,

"H. EXETER.

"Rev. T. T. Carter."

In the chapter upon "Character" the following touching letter, from the pen of the doctor who attended Canon Carter in his latter years, may fitly find a place.

"*Windsor.*

"MY DEAR ——,

"In writing of Canon Carter it is difficult for me to express in words all I feel, for he was a man only met once in a lifetime. I saw much of him during the later years of his life, for when he saw my hat in the hall[1] he very often carried it into his study. I always went into that room with thankfulness and pleasure. Everything there was peaceful, and he was the embodiment of all that was gentle and holy. I always felt nearer to God whilst with him. His ever bright and fresh intellect made him delightful as a conversationalist and most instructive, and his broad and most tolerant views made him to be beloved and revered by

[1] That is, when the doctor was visiting a sick relative.—ED.

all classes of Christians. His chief characteristics seemed to me, as a rather Low Churchman, to be his personal holiness, and he instilled into my mind the fact as being far before ceremonial. I remember soon after the Round Table Conferences at Lambeth Palace, when it was decided that incense used ceremonially and candles carried in procession were illegal, I asked him one morning whether he had received a letter from the bishop on the matter. He answered in the negative in his usual gentle way. 'I do not think he will write to me,' he continued. But I said, 'Suppose he does, will you obey him?' 'Oh, certainly,' he said. 'I should carry out his wishes.' It always struck me in conversation with him, that he never looked upon extreme ritual as necessary, but that to some it was helpful, and as a High Churchman he preferred it.

"I do not know whether his quiet unostentatious way of giving to charities has been mentioned, but he usually gave to me, unasked, in charities I was interested in, and made no inquiry, trusting fully in the person or object in which I was interested. As his doctor, I was most anxious always to preserve his brain and his body in its wonted activity. At the early services he refused the early cup of tea and piece of bread and butter until, for health's sake, I begged him to take it. At the services he knelt until his knees refused further to bear the pressure. His Sunday work, after he was ninety years of age, was an example for many a young man. The last few months of his life he gave up work almost entirely, and when I seemed to urge him, his answer was, 'I am getting an old man. . . .' I felt he required no urging; that his fine constitution and his indomitable will, and his great love for all, made him work until his powers failed him, and he painlessly laid himself down and passed away.

"At the interview, when he said he was getting old, I said how I would that he could be made young again, and I told him the story of Faust, which he did not seem to remember. He said he never went to the opera as a young man, and very seldom to the theatre, that he worked very hard at Christ Church after leaving Eton, and then after getting a First Class, he immediately entered the ministry. His work and his life show how clearly he had one object in view, personal holiness as his great object in life, and what an example to every one who came in his way; and how it really influenced every one is told in the following story, an interesting conclusion to a most painful subject.

"Some time after Mr. Carter resigned the charge of Clewer Church, due entirely to the litigation of Dr. Julius, Mr. Carter and Dr. Julius accidentally met at Mrs. Bridgman's house at Clewer Hill. Dr. Julius was in the drawing-room, talking to Mrs. Bridgman, when Mr. Carter was announced in the dining-room. Dr. Julius became deathly white, and said how bitterly he regretted that he had ever allowed himself to be drawn into the prosecution, that, had he known Mr. Carter, nothing would have ever induced him to take it up, but he, a perfect stranger, was out-persuaded by others in and near the parish. Mrs. Bridgman then said, 'Well, would you like to see Mr. Carter?' He said, 'I should.' Mrs. Bridgman then went down to see Mr. Carter, and told him who was upstairs, and would like to see him. Mr. Carter said, 'Oh yes, I should like to see him, if he would like to see me, but I could not go up to him.' Dr. Julius then came down, and they shook hands, sat down, and talked pleasantly for some time, and parted friends—a happy ending to the most painful trial which never ought to have been started.

"I do not know whether you propose to mention about his last summer holiday, and the last offices which were done by the Sisters, and myself and his two grandsons when we placed his remains in their last resting-place. Pleased to use this exactly as you like. I only write it in love for him.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"WILLIAM FAIRBANK."

It will be seen from these pages that the existence of the Sisterhood of St. John the Baptist, Clewer, was owing to the need for the supervision of penitents, and that is still the chief work. Mr. Carter had been stirred by God's grace to try to seek and save the lost, a conspicuous need in the neighbourhood of a garrison town, and it is a matter of experience that only by Sisters can such institutions be successfully worked. Mr. Carter and Bishop Armstrong were pioneers of better and more successful methods of penitentiary work. Mr. Carter is commonly said to have had the spirit of the Apostle of Love, St. John; but he had also something of the spirit of the Baptist. The Community was named after Christ's Forerunner, and had as a motto, "Illum oportet crescere, me autem minui."

Canon Carter, the most gentle of creatures, had the firmness of a rock, and an indomitable will, when he came forth to defend the Church. In this way he was mixed up in, and took a leading part, and became a champion, when some truth or ceremony of the Faith was assailed; but, like Michael, he was "all for God."

His love for God seemed to quicken his natural sensibilities, and in his home life, and in his dealings with the parents of the Sisters, will be found all the tenderest movements of natural affection. Never would he allow any disparagement of domestic and family life, or one vocation to vie with another. He would say, "There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit." His allegiance to the Church of England held him back from the extremist line.

To give an instance of this, much has been spoken and written of late with regard to the Invocation of Saints, and Mr. Carter's opinion (as previously Dr. Pusey's) has been sought on the subject. As a rule, we have said, he would not allow *direct* addresses to the Saints, but only prayer to God for their intercession. Thus, in the "Treasury of Devotion," a well-known manual, carefully edited by him, we find at page 10, "May all the Saints and elect of God pray for me." This is "comprecation." This he allowed and encouraged, but not, I repeat, *direct* intercession. Mr. Carter defended the "Treasury of Devotion" in the *Times* as "compiled with the careful desire of preserving Catholic devotional doctrine and phraseology clear of anything distinctively Roman." I am quite aware that direct intercession is not "distinctively Roman," for it is enjoined and practised in the East; nor am I ignorant of the witness in the catacombs and some expressions in the Fathers about direct intercession privately used; but I believe I am right in saying that it formed no part of the public authorized services of the Early Church—which the Church of England makes her standard. I have here, however, not to deal with the subject in itself, but simply with Mr. Carter's view concerning it, and as a rule he objected to direct invocation. And here I say, as a rule, because my

attention has been called to an exception, which is quite characteristic of him, so unnatural it was for him to be a rigorist and to stick without a single exception, especially to a ruling which had, at any rate, the Latin and Greek Church not in favour of it.

A copy of a letter has been sent to me with regard to an inscription upon a new bell for the Manor House Chapel at Oxford, in which Canon Carter says, "It is quite well to do as you propose, for the inscription to be 'Ave Maria, ora pro nobis.'" The bell was cast with that inscription, hung, and episcopally blessed. It is only fair to insert this; but I am confident that neither Canon Carter himself, nor those whom he guided, used, under his authority, direct addresses to the Blessed Virgin Mary or the Saints. He would fear lest the office of the "One Mediator" should be obscured. In saying this, I am judging no man, and giving no opinion, but only trying to set forth the true convictions of Canon Carter, and to paint the manner of man he was.

Canon Carter saw clearly the need of Community life, something more than individual self-oblation to the work of Christ. He said, in the history of the Religious Life there appears to have been two different aims: one, the perfection of the individual; the other, the perfection of the community. Canon Carter seemed to aim at both. He had a constructive genius which manifested itself in organization. On the one hand he sought to lead individual Sisters in the ways of holiness; on the other, he saw the permanency of the work depended upon the existence and careful building up of Community life. He said—

"Sister Dora achieved her wonderful work alone. She has passed away and left nothing behind her. If the full results of such great gifts as God vouchsafes from time to time to His Church are to be preserved, they must be embodied in organized societies."

Hence the need of Sisterhoods, and not only of personal

self-oblation. Sisterhoods remain ; individual devotion passes. His mind seemed to me like two minds rolled into one. It is rare to find the mastery of great principles and attention to minute details in the same person. These capacities coexisted in him. He had a clear conception of what the constitution of a Sisterhood ought to be in the Church of England, its relations with the bishop of the diocese, with parochial clergy where they worked, and the value of a council, half-lay, to Sisterhoods in external matters. His ideal was not that of Bishop Webb, a "Diocesan Institution," but he thought Bishop Webb's principle might work well in Bloemfontein. Nor could he agree with the late Bishop of Lincoln as to the age of dedication, "three score years old," but showed in his "Vows and the Religious Life" that St. Paul's restriction referred to "widows," and that in 1 Cor. vii. 37 he had dealt with "virgins." Canon Carter's sense of humour was rather excited by the idea of the Sisters only undertaking their arduous duties after sixty!

It has been thought by some who knew Canon Carter's mind best, that the following extract from the *Nineteenth Century*, which the editor has kindly allowed to be taken, throws much light upon the posture of Mr. Carter's mind with regard to the bishops and the Church. He has elsewhere expressed the same thoughts, though more briefly and less forcibly. He is here dealing with a particular subject—confession—upon which his treatise sufficiently expresses his opinions. The article from which we are about to quote had for its purpose the correction of some unguarded statements of Canon Teignmouth Shore, respecting confession, and at the close of the article, having adduced passages from Jeremy Taylor, Patrick, etc., the author passes to some general principles to account for the temporary desuetude of the practice.

Canon Carter writes:—

"It may appear strange, if these things are so, that confession to a priest, together with other sacramental

ordinances, which have been of late so freely taught (this was written in 1895) amongst us, should appear to many as a mere accretion upon our proper and legitimate system, the invention of the Oxford Movement. This was actually said lately in a leading article of the *Times*. It would seem from Mr. Shore's article that this idea has also entered into his view of the present condition of our Church life, and to many there may be need of some explanation: how it could be, if the views above stated are correct as to such doctrines leavening the Church up to the end of the seventeenth century and beyond it, as acknowledged and accepted principles in active operation, they should have fallen into such oblivion that their assertion now appears to be a novelty, and awakes in many such strenuous opposition. I cannot myself doubt as to the cause. There supervened upon the Revolution the secession of the non-jurors, and this comprehended no less than four hundred priests and eight bishops, including the Primate. The men who clung to the belief of the Divine right of kings, and to whom their oath to the exiled family was a part of their religion, were also the main upholders of the higher view of the Church's system. They were succeeded by men of a different stamp, and with these came in a lower view of Church life. There is no mistaking the difference between those who seceded in consequence of their reverence for their oath, and those who were able to accommodate themselves to the new order of things and the new principles of government. The consequences of such a change extended throughout the Church as well as throughout the State. There were families who retained the old usages. These were individual witnesses to the forgotten truths among the clergy, but they were comparatively like angels' visits, few and far between, as *voces clamantium in deserto*. The Oxford Movement was, as it were, the rising up again to the surface for the first time, after more than a century, of the stream which had so long been hidden underground, bringing with it the treasures of Catholic truth, held in abeyance during the interval. The Oxford Movement was the rising to the surface of the teaching and uses of the days of Andrews, and Jeremy Taylor, and George Herbert, and Cosin, and Ken. We see a difference in the attitude of the men who led the Oxford Movement, a difference arising from their antecedents. Keble and Pusey were both brought up from childhood in families which had inherited the old ideas common to the non-jurors. Newman had no such advantage. Newman,

during the struggle, said, 'I look to the bishops.' Pusey said, 'I look to the Church.' A whole world of difference lay between the two sayings, marking the immense diversity between the two men in their bringing up, and their grounds of belief. To Keble and Pusey the attacks which reached them from all quarters were of no account. They were conscious of the solid groundwork of the system they had inherited. They remained calm and tranquil through all the turmoil. Newman had no such stability, for he had had no such early teaching, and when attacked, he had no standing ground, and despaired *de republica*. The strength of those who held firm, and still taught, and have prevailed, arose from their clearly seeing that the Tractarian theology was nothing new in the Church of England; was simply a recovery through faithful witnesses of the good old system for which a long line of our forefathers prayed and suffered, before the Revolution in Church and State led to the decline and torpor of the last century." [1]

This is the true explanation of the contrast between the last century and the present, which so many view with surprise and suspicion. The Evangelical Movement led the way out of the "Slough of Despond;" the Oxford Movement completed the recovery.

In the year 1882 some of Canon Carter's friends united together to present him with his portrait as "a mark of their esteem," and it was painted by Mr. F. Holl, R.A. Lord Beauchamp was asked to make the presentation, but was unfortunately prevented from discharging this "agreeable duty" in person. He, however, wrote to Mr. Carter in the kindest terms, expressing the pleasure which the contributors received from joining in the gift, and the hope that it would be treasured by his family, and be an enduring record of the countenance of one who had done so much for the revival of the Religious Life in the English Church.[2]

Canon Carter replied—

"I can hardly adequately express to your lordship my grateful sense of the great kindness which has dictated this

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1895, p. 288.

[2] The frontispiece of this volume is from the picture thus presented.

very gratifying and valuable gift. It really impresses me with the thought of so much generous and flattering regard, when one seems only to be doing what has come to one simply in the way of duty to do. Nothing could have been more grateful to me than this, with which my family are so delighted, which has been so generously designed and beautifully carried out, for all greatly admire Mr. Holl's work. Your lordship's very kind expressions have added greatly to what in itself I have every reason to be grateful for, though I hardly like to take to myself what you have been good enough to say.

"Believe me, my Lord Beauchamp,

"Yours, etc.,

"T. T. C."

Dr. Pusey had, I understand, some objection to likenesses, and wished to explain why his name was not on the list of contributors. A regret was expressed that Dr. Pusey had not seen his way clear to afford his friends the same pleasure which Mr. Carter had given to his in this respect.

We have received the following letter, which brings out strikingly two features of Canon Carter's character—his love of travel and sight-seeing, and his attractiveness to children:—

"We were staying in Florence, and some of us being a little tired of sight-seeing, a drive into the country was proposed. Mr. Carter consented, but added, 'You must remember that we have sixteen more things to see.' He liked to explore a place thoroughly, and, having done this, to go on at once somewhere else. Another point is, young people always took to him, and liked to come and tell him about their affairs. His grandchildren used to love to run into his study."

CHAPTER XI.

LATER YEARS.

In June, 1881, Canon Carter left the Rectory, which, by the kindness of his successor, the Rev. Roland Errington, he was permitted to occupy for a year after his resignation, and went to live in St. John's Lodge, the beautiful home prepared for him by generous and loving friends, in which the remainder of his life was spent. Here, for twenty years, he worked with unswerving regularity, visiting the scattered branches of the Sisterhood, and receiving all (and they were many) who desired to come to him for spiritual help. No stress of weather, even when he was long past eighty, would induce him to give up his weekly visit to the house in Rose Street, Soho, where he was accustomed to see the Sisters and others who came to him from different parts of London; and though extremely sensitive to changes of temperature, he seemed to take an almost boyish pleasure in braving the elements. "I have come back safe," he would say, with his bright smile. "But really it was not fit for you to have gone." "So the guard told me at the station," he answered, laughing, after a day of dense November fog.

To the very last no temptation would induce him to put aside his plan of work. He would not, even in the heat of summer, change his accustomed hours so as to walk or drive at a cooler time, lest he should thereby cause some slight inconvenience to others. His consideration, his delicate thoughtfulness for the comfort or pleasure of those about him, seemed to grow year by year.

He read widely, almost to the end, using for this purpose every available moment. His great power of abstraction

enabled him to read much—even difficult books—during his frequent railway journeys. He took great delight in history and biography (one of the last books that he enjoyed was the "Story of Dr. Pusey's Life"), and he was heard to regret Bishop Creighton's appointment to the See of London, because it destroyed all hopes of his completion of his "History of the Papacy." The last hour of the evening was frequently spent in reading aloud, and none who heard it can forget his reading of his favourite passages from Wordsworth or Tennyson. For Browning he never cared much. The *Christian Year* was a lifelong companion, usually called for on Sunday evening, or, when away from home, during afternoon rambles on the seashore or mountain-side. He retained his early love for Scott's novels and poems, but as a rule he refused to read stories except in his holidays, saying they took up too much of his thoughts.

The intense delight in scenery, in natural beauty of all kinds, seemed to deepen as his years increased. It was indeed a delight and high privilege to be with him in the holidays, spent always in some beautiful spot—often in Switzerland or the Highland glens, or, when long journeys could no longer be undertaken, in Devonshire and Cornwall.

"I think it is really the nicest combination I have come across in this paradise of pastoral beauty," he wrote to his son from St. Beatenberg in 1885 or 1886; "undulating, bright, upland scenery, and gigantic masses around crowned with those great Oberland heights. You can wander, lie down, just as you like, with plenty of pine trees for shade, and splendid views around, and in the glorious though rather hot weather we have now, we could not have a pleasanter place, and pleasant people have been or are here. . . . I am very glad Gladstone has resigned, though evidently he does not bate his absoluteness. I have had the *Spectator* forwarded to me as well as the *Guardian*. Don't you think the *Spec.* good? It suits me admirably, though I suppose it has been more dead against G.'s views than I can quite be."

No doubt his wonderful endurance and power of work,

prolonged through so many years, was due in great part to this gift of fresh enjoyment, and the keen interest which he was ever ready to take in new scenes and differing lives.

Thus he describes a tour in Wales :—

To his Son.

"*Barmouth.*

"We have had, I think, a very prosperous expedition. The first week, unchanging sunshine, was very delightfully spent at Chepstow, Tintern, Raglan, Llantony (not with Ignatius; he is four miles beyond, on a desolate side of the Black Mountains. He has injured the influence which he once had by upholding a supposed apparition of the B.V.M.).

"Tenby we grew to like very much. The air, we all agreed, was very pleasant and healthful; the sands and rocky shores, the absence of fog, the interest of old castles and churches in the neighbourhood, and pretty wooded spots in hollows, sheltered from the ceaseless winds that play at their own sweet will on the general surface of the country, all give great variety and enjoyment. Then, too, a fine church and bright services, lights and linen vestments at early celebrations, good choir and organ, and very large congregations, were a good addition; a good deal of Church life, a C.B.S. ward. . . . The people seemed very hospitable and kind, several calling, in a quiet way. Weather very variable, but a good share of fine, and in our lodging we had all the sun that shone. The expedition to St. David's, of which, doubtless, you heard, was a very enjoyable episode. Certainly a wonderful Church settlement as ever was, in a kind of creek in the once waste moorland. . . . We came here to finish our outing with a little more mountain scenery . . . a fuchsia is in bloom under our window, a myrtle hedge not far off, and at a farmstead on the hill a bed of lilies like the Japanese. The place must be mild."

In 1891 a severe attack of influenza compelled him to take three months' rest, and this time was spent at Penzance.

"I am clearly gaining ground, though slowly," he wrote to his brother, the Rev. W. A. Carter, in July of that year. "I cannot walk much, but exercise my legs as much as I can.

I am obliged to take either a fly of some sort or donkey-chair, and vary our movements in this way. There are beautiful drives. Mr. Bolitho[1] has kindly sent his carriage for me more than once. We enjoy our view of the bay from our window very much indeed—very pretty, and alive with boats. The fishing-boats from Newlyn at one side of the bay are most picturesque. . . . The Sundays are the worst for me. I have not yet ventured to church."

It pleased God to restore his strength in a wonderful degree, so that after a few months he was able to resume his customary work, and his powers of walking and standing seemed but little impaired; and when, for the first time, during the holiday of 1897, his pleasure in walking began to fail, he fell back on his early love for boating, and spent much time on the beautiful sea-creeks of Salcombe.

To his Son.

"*Salcombe, August* 16.

"We have exceedingly enjoyed this place. The windings of the inland sea, the varied coves, the rocky shores, the undulating slopes of hill, not high, but always picturesque, the endless boating, and the lovely walks, all this has been very delightful. . . . We took General Roberts' book on his Indian life, and have been reading it in the evening with the greatest interest. It is admirably done. For the day reading I have been going on with Archbishop Benson's 'Cyprian,' a very wonderful work for such a busy man. I should like some day to tell his son how greatly interested I have been, and how much it shows his intellectual power."

Such extracts might be multiplied. All his letters on such subjects show the same delight in natural loveliness, the same readiness to be pleased by all simple pleasures, and gratefully to receive all kindnesses. It was the spiritual side of beauty that appealed to him. Hence his great love for Wordsworth. "Such beauty as this uplifts the heart," he said, in 1899, while crossing the Dart.

[1] The late William Bolitho, Esq., of Polwithen.

Many years earlier, in a sermon preached at All Saints, Margaret Street, he expressed the spirit in which he regarded the visible works of God. "Created forms are as shadows cast from the substances of the inner world, and it is designed that we should attain to a gradual knowledge of God as we look on and through outward nature with an illuminated eye." [1]

Among the interests of these later years was the repair of a small chapel, situated in the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and known as the "Chapel of Abraham," of which some account is given in Chapter VIII.

In the parish church, which he quitted with such deep regret, he always took the keenest interest. He often visited it, delighting in any repair or improvement, and caring specially for the beautiful churchyard.

But, in spite of much kind pressure from his successor, he could never, except on a single occasion, make up his mind to take part in its services. That occasion was a marked one, to be long remembered by the parishioners. In 1896 a mission, conducted by the Rev. Cyril Bickersteth, had deeply stirred the hearts of many, and at its close Canon Carter consented to speak once more from the pulpit in which he had stood Sunday after Sunday for six-and-thirty years.

The following notes written on the spot, brief and incomplete as they are, may yet, to those accustomed to listen to Canon Carter, give some idea of this beautiful address :—

"The great movement by which this place has been so deeply stirred has come during the festival of the Saint whom in this church we specially commemorate. We may trust that his intercessions with those of all Saints may aid to bring a blessing on those who have been gathered here, and on those who minister to them. Such a hope opens to us the whole vision of the kingdom of God, and of those who are within the kingdom round His Throne, and among them are some of those whom we have known and loved in the

[1] "Lent Lectures," p. 18.

flesh, whose names we cherish in our deepest hearts. We are helped in our passage through this troubled state by contemplating the restful, peaceful denizens of that world we trust to enter.

"As years advance, and we experience more of earth's trials, it is a great interior strength to have that vision in our minds, and catch such glimpses as we can of the host now before God. There is a touching story told of Richard Hooker, a man of many conflicts, in his last days; he was seen by those who watched him, his eye glistening, and a smile on his lips, and he said that he was contemplating that world of peace and rest to which he was hastening. It is a lesson to ourselves.

"In the Revelation of St. John, after speaking of the terrible woes that are to come on the earth, he says, 'Here is the patience of the Saints.' This was to be the first point selected in viewing those who had passed through their time of trial, issuing out into that perfect grace of patience, resting on the will of God.

"At the close of a great movement, such as is taking place here, breathing into souls momentous resolutions, keen anxiety must be felt by those who watch over them as to how the impression will live on, and those higher purposes be maintained, amid the pressure of daily life, with its multiplicity of details, through which all have to work their way upward and onward. It is a false view to look on these details as hindrances, as merely 'worry.' Opposition, interruptions, sudden alarms, the weariness of pain or weakness, is not to be looked on as hindrances to our true life. They are opportunities for the growth of the spiritual life. We may say that all depends on them.

"Whether we can gain any likeness to our blessed Master depends on habits formed, on the tone of mind, on persevering steadfastness. Through these things we gain the stillness of the soul of which we dream. But only after conflict, hard trial, and weary detail; thus only is anything of that interior rest or true peace to be found.

"It is a lesson and encouragement to feel that if we are faithful in the trial, there comes at last as the fruit that blessedness which is some reflection of the Heart of God and the Mind of Jesus. 'He shall sit as a Refiner and Purifier of silver, and He shall purify the sons of Levi.' It is a wonderful picture of a real fact. He sees before Him the great mass of humanity, with its intermingled dross. He sees

the nations, and the individual lives among the nations, spread before Him, and as the silver is purified in the fire it reflects the image of the Refiner on its surface. We shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is."

In 1897, feeling no longer able, owing to his increasing deafness, to take an active part in the meetings of the Society, he resigned his position as Superior-General of the C. B. S., which he had held since its first foundation, thirty-five years before. In the following year, October 26, 1898, he received, with great pleasure and emotion, the magnificent gift in which the members of the Society expressed their love and gratitude for his long services, a splendid set of altar vessels. They were brought to him by the new Superior-General, the Rev. R. Suckling, the secretary, the Rev. J. Dixon, and his life-long friend and fellow-worker, the Rev. J. E. Hall, and he dedicated them in his oratory at St. John's Lodge, putting in tender words and prayer for the loving friends who had given them, and then blessed the gold medal for the Superior-General, which had been brought at the same time, putting it first on himself, and then hanging it round Mr. Suckling's neck, and gave his blessing to him and to the others who were present, and afterwards, in his study, made a little speech, in which he spoke of the growth of the Society from its tiny beginnings at all Saints, Margaret Street, the many helpers passed away, those still left, and ended brokenly, "I think you've overdone about me; but I don't know—I don't know." He was much affected, but not overcome.

On January 6, 1899, he sent the manuscript of his last volume of sermons, the "Spirit of Watchfulness," to Messrs. Longmans, himself correcting the manuscript and revising the proofs. In that year he went down to Paignton for the summer holiday, and was able to enjoy the beautiful drives, going as far as Totnes and Berry Pomeroy, and spending a few days with a nephew at Exeter. The Channel Fleet came into Torquay during his visit, and was a source of much interest, and one day he was rowed out into the bay to get a nearer view of the great ships.

Among his autumn pleasures was the watching the first work of his architect grandson—a new bell-tower at the House of Mercy.

The winter brought a heavy and wholly unexpected blow —the death of his only son on December 14. This bitter grief was borne with calm submission. He went on, to the fullest measure of his strength, with his accustomed work, he met all around him with his usual gentle smile, but those who watched him closely saw that the spring of his life was broken, and from that day his strength failed more and more rapidly.

Still, for nearly two years he worked on, till, after his return home from Ryde, in the summer of 1901, he was laid by with a slight internal attack, from the effects of which he never wholly rallied. In October he seemed much better, and on the 26th of that month he was able to preside at the re-election of the Mother Superior. On that day he visited the Convalescent Hospital, as well as the House of Mercy, doing more than he had done for long, and was bright in the evening, and pleased to have got through so much. The next day he did not feel able to rise, and on the following morning, the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, he passed away without pain or struggle, in the presence of his two daughters and a nursing Sister.

Two days later, on the eve of All Saints, he was laid beside his wife in Clewer churchyard, in the presence of a great gathering of friends and fellow-workers in those labours for the Church of God to which all his life had been given.

Canon Carter's great delight in natural beauty has often been noticed in this volume. There was a last and touching instance. At dusk, on the evening before his death, one of his daughters was about to draw the curtains. He stopped her, saying, "I want to see the star," and lay gazing at the planet which shone in unusual splendour through the window at the foot of his bed. A star appears in the background of the bronze placed in the parish church of Clewer to his memory, in remembrance of this his last look on outward things.

A few lines written by himself may here find a fitting place.

"I am deeply grateful to Almighty God for life prolonged, so that I have lived to see the result and the success of the struggles of many years, during which in His Providence I have had to bear some part. Doctrines, once fiercely opposed, now accepted or tolerated, and at least making their way more peacefully; Ritual, once still more wildly attacked, now authoritatively sanctioned, at least as to its main features; the Religious Life, once so strangely suspected, spreading everywhere; a whole Church Revival on true Catholic lines, which commenced since I was ordained, thus obtaining a settlement and bearing promise of permanence and of progress through after ages, on English grounds and according to English ideas. Thanks be to God!"

The following is a touching account of Canon Carter's last years in his ministerial life, from 1885 to 1901, written kindly at the instance of the editor of this work. Mr Cuthbert was for some time an assistant Curate of Clewer in earlier life, and was subsequently Sub-Warden for about seventeen years, and has been appointed, since the Founder's death, his successor as Warden. He had many opportunities, from friendship and office, of intercourse with Canon Carter during his declining years until their close, and the impressions which he received from the holy life which he constantly had before him he has recorded in a few pages, which will form a suitable conclusion to this memoir. Mr. Cuthbert's record bears out the description given of the Warden of Clewer at the time of his death—"Canon Carter presented sanctity under the aspect of beauty."[1]

"*St. John's Lodge, Clewer.*

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,

"In trying, at your request, to put on record some reminiscences of our venerable and beloved Master, I feel very painfully how inadequate will be the few scattered recollections which are all that I can contribute to give any true impression of him as I found him to be during an

[1] Article in *Church Quarterly.*

intercourse which lasted through more than a quarter of a century, and which latterly became so close and intimate. My first meeting with Mr. Carter was in the year 1867, when I attended a Retreat conducted by him at Bovey Tracey. It was my first Retreat; the subject of the addresses was 'The Priesthood,' and ideas of the ministerial life were then opened out to me which were far in advance of anything which I had hitherto realized, and which were deepened and brought more closely home to me when I went to him privately. This Retreat was held either immediately before or after the opening of the newly erected House of Mercy, and I remember being greatly impressed by the sermon which Mr. Carter preached at the dedication service, in which he dwelt on the place which the Grace of Sympathy holds in the Christian life as a fruit of the Incarnation, and how especially requisite and important it was in Penitentiary work. After this I did not again meet him until the beginning of 1873, when I had the privilege of renewing my acquaintance with him at Rome. I remember then especially a walk with him, on the Festival of St. Antony of Padua, to the church where on that day the animals are blessed, and the interest he took in the benediction service as we saw it then performed.

"The result of our intercourse at Rome was that on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1873, I went to Clewer as assistant curate of the parish, where I remained for rather more than two years. The clerical staff at Clewer in those days was a large one, the clergy of the parish and of the Sisterhood forming practically one body. We used to meet every Monday at the Rectory to settle the week's work, and when this had been done, the Rector, as he was then, used constantly to bring before us some matter connected with the Church questions of the day in which he was especially interested, and ask for our opinions about it. And I well remember how greatly I was struck by the breadth and largeness of view with which he was wont to take in all the aspects of the subjects which he proposed for our consideration, as well as by the patience with which he used to listen to the sometimes very crude expressions of opinion to which some amongst us, myself especially, gave utterance. Another point which at that time greatly impressed me was the intimate personal knowledge which the Rector had of many of his parishioners, so that although he did not then as a rule visit much in the parish, he was always ready himself to take up any case which I found especial difficulty in dealing with.

"I left Clewer at the end of 1875, and for the next nine years my opportunities of meeting Canon Carter were almost entirely limited to the annual visits which we used to pay to him on the occasion of the Commemoration Festival at the House of Mercy, an event which was always to me one of the red-letter days of the year. In 1883, however, he was kind enough to come to preach at the reopening, after restoration, of Market Drayton Church, of which I was then Vicar. Before he came, there was among the people a certain amount of prejudice against him on account of his reputation as one of the leaders of what was called 'the extreme High Church party.' But his presence and his sermon on 1 Cor. xiii. 12 quite dispelled the unfavourable feeling which had existed, and his visit was productive of the happiest result.

"In 1884 I returned to Clewer as Sub-Warden of the House of Mercy. The Warden was then in his 77th year, but was still as active, both in mind and body, as many a man of 60. His Sunday evening sermons he preached sitting, but without any notes; they were of the same deeply thoughtful and spiritual character as they had ever been, and for some time seemed to me to gain rather than fall off in lucidity and clearness of arrangement.

"For some years after I went to Clewer the Warden took his full share in all the services and other work connected with the Community. Only as regarded outside engagements and matters connected with the public life of the church did he gradually come to take a less active part. His last appearance on a public platform was, if I remember rightly, at the Church Congress at Birmingham.

"We at Clewer had feared that the effort of going to and speaking at the Congress would be too much for him, and tried to dissuade him from it. But he was quite decided that he ought to go, and the impression which he produced upon a large and somewhat excited audience was noticed at the time as being very remarkable. Though, however, he gradually withdrew from the position which he had held for so many years as a leader of the Catholic School in the English Church, Canon Carter's interest in all the current questions of the time continued to be as keen as ever. He would still, as of old, at our Monday morning meetings, talk over whatever subject was 'in the air,' and from time to time letters with the well-known signature used to appear in the papers, which showed how alive he was to everything which had to

do with the maintenance of the Faith and Ritual of the Church.

"Thus the years went on so quietly and with such little outward change that we hardly realized when he reached and passed the limit of his four-score years. Not, I think, till after that did the necessity of trying to save him any unnecessary fatigue, whether of body or mind, really come home to us. And when it did so, we found it no easy task to carry out our duty in this respect. Many a time did it only come to light after the event that the Warden had, unknown to us, taken some piece of work from which, had we known of it in time, we should certainly have endeavoured to dissuade him. I think at times he found some pleasure and amusement in thus circumventing us. His weekly visits to the London Houses of the Community were among the first things which we prevailed upon him to give up. He came back one day from one of these expeditions with his face sadly cut from having fallen in trying to get into an omnibus while it was in motion. This, of course, alarmed us greatly. But all we could succeed in doing was to extract a promise that he would in future make the omnibus stop before attempting to get on it. Soon afterwards a carriage was provided for him by the kindness of an old friend, and for some time he continued this part of his work. But at last it became manifestly too much for him, and he quietly consented to relinquish it. In other respects he went on much as usual, celebrating always on Sundays, and at least on one day in the week. His sermons, however, gradually changed their character. He began to take his notes with him, and to read from them, and there was a marked growth of simplicity in what he said, so that the likeness which we always loved to trace in him to St. John, became in his old age more striking than ever as the burden of his exhortation became more and more the cultivation of Love and Unity one with another. It was not, I think, until after his return from his summer holiday in 1900 that the decline in his power became very marked. From that time he himself recognized his growing weakness, and quietly acquiesced in, though he very rarely suggested, the surrender of this or that portion of his work. He often spoke of his failing memory, and gently put aside matters which he felt he could no longer deal with, though still keeping his hold on much of his distinctively spiritual work. And not, I think, until the summer of 1901 did he give up celebrating on Sunday at the

PROPOSED MEMORIAL IN THE CHAPEL.

(*Designed by* G. F. Bodley, R.A.)

altar of the House of Mercy, and take to celebrating in his own private oratory instead.

"There seems little more which one can say about this period until quite the end. On Saturday, October 26, 1901, I went to him to speak about the Chapter for the election of the Mother Superior, which was to be held on that day. Some little time previously a Chapter for the election of some novices had been held, at which he had asked me to preside in his stead. And I quite expected he would have done the same on this occasion. But I found him with all the necessary papers carefully arranged, and quite decided to go himself to the Chapter, which he did, and presided at it without the slightest confusion or hesitation. Then I left him, thinking that he would rest during the afternoon. But far from resting, he went first to the Hospital to see some invalid Sisters there, and then to the House of Mercy. On Sunday morning he sent me a note to say that he was not feeling very well, and could not preach. I went over to see him, but found him so bright and entirely himself that I thought it was only that he had somewhat overtired himself the previous day, and needed some rest. Monday was the Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude. I was about to go to him about ten o'clock, when a Sister who had been with him in the morning came hurriedly in and begged me to go over at once. I went, but before I reached his room the end had come, and he was at rest, looking only as he might have done in his sleep. But a few minutes previously he had been talking to the Sister who was nursing him, and had been inquiring about a patient in the Hospital in whom he was interested. Thus quietly, after seventy years of strenuous work in the Church's Ministry, did the soul of this great priest pass into that world in which for so long he had seemed to us who knew him best to be already living, in the scarcely veiled Presence of the Lord, Whose he was and Whom he served.

"Yours,

"G. SEIGNELAY CUTHBERT."

The Funeral.

We would fain end here; yet it may appear abrupt and wanting in affection not to mention the esteem and tender love with which the earthly casket of the immortal spirit of

the "saintly Carter"—the beautiful instrument of ceaseless activities for God's glory and man's good—was laid to rest under the shadow of St. Andrew's Church, Clewer, so long the scene of his loving labours.

The body, clad in Eucharistic vestments, with the chalice and paten in his hands, was brought the night before the burial into the Chapel of the House of Mercy, whilst the Sisters sang the *Urbs Beata*, there to remain amid loving watchers until the morning, when a special Eucharist was celebrated for the family and mourners by Canon Carter's nephew, the Bishop of Zululand, now of Pretoria. Later came the chief service, beginning with a solemn celebration of the Holy Mysteries, the Rev. G. S. Cuthbert, then Sub-Warden (now Warden), being the celebrant. The *Dies Iræ* was exquisitely rendered, the voices accompanied with organ and violins. But whilst the crowd in the great chapel witnessed to the affection in which Canon Carter was held, when the long procession slowly emerged from the Chapel and entered the road, the scene was still more striking; for thousands had gathered, filling every spot between the House of Mercy and the church—a distance of more than half a mile—to catch a glimpse of the funeral of the priest who had been so long known and loved, both as Rector of the parish and Warden of the Sisterhood. A long line of surpliced priests and ninety Sisters preceded the coffin, which was of ancient shape, but hidden by a beautiful pall, the pall-bearers being Lord Halifax, Colonel Drummond Hay, Rev. Father Benson, and the Rev. R. A. Suckling, the family and mourners walking next to the coffin. The unbroken silence of those in the procession and of the throng of people was a most remarkable feature. The regular footfall of those who were walking, like the beating of a pulse, alone broke the silence, and now and then the soft falling of the autumn leaves from the trees. The day was unusually bright, as seemed fitting for the bearing of one to the tomb who had shed so much brightness into numberless lives. The scene was indescribably touching—it was so simple, so real, so

BRONZE IN CLEWER CHURCH. [*W. Bainbridge Reynolds. Inv. et fecit.*

devotional, such a remarkable gathering. It seemed to be composed of "all sorts and conditions of men."

As the church was neared the crowd became more dense, but a path was kept clear; the Rev. J. E. Swallow, of Horbury, who had been for a long period a Chaplain at Clewer, was responsible for the good arrangement of the procession. The Rev. A. Cowie, Rector of Clewer, began the service; the Lesson was read by the Rev. G. N. Nicholas, Vicar of Clewer St. Stephen. At the grave, the Ven. W. H. Hutchings conducted the service, saying the prayers of committal; and the Bishop of Oxford, at the close, gave the Blessing. Besides the Bishops of Oxford, Reading, and Zululand, and the Deans of Windsor, Lichfield, and Chichester, there was a great number of priests and of lay people, all anxious to show their loving regard for their pastor and life-long friend, now borne to his last resting-place; amongst them many to whom he had ministered in his gentle fatherly way as far as memory could reach back.

His teaching, which he had the happiness, during the last years of his life, of knowing, was continued by his successors in the parish (Rev. Roland Errington and Rev. A. T. C. Cowie)—would not be forgotten by his flock, as well as his keen interest in all that concerned their well-being, both spiritual and bodily.

The resting-place had long been awaiting him by the side of his wife, in the beautiful churchyard at Clewer, and now those who visit his grave will see the space which had for thirty-two years remained vacant on the grave-stone, filled with the name of *Thomas Thellusson Carter.*

> "Then wander back to life, and lean
> On our frail love once more,
> 'Tis sweet, as year by year we lose
> Friends out of sight, in faith to muse
> How grows in Paradise our store."

In the Chapel of the Community at Clewer, on the north side of the altar, against the angle of the apse, there is an alabaster effigy of the Founder, fully vested, and of the size of life. The figure rests upon what is generally

described as an altar tomb, with the following inscription, in an abbreviated form, on the base :—

"Orate pro animâ Thomæ Thellusson Carter domûs istius communitatisque Sancti Joannis Baptistæ Fundatoris qui in festo Sanctorum Simonis et Judæ MCMI anno sacerdotii LXIX° ætatis XCIV° in Christo obdormivit."

Over the figure there is a wooden canopy, and on the wall at the back the Crucifixion carved in a panel, with the words underneath :—

"Caritas Xti urget nos."

On the north wall of the Sanctuary of the parish church of St. Andrew, on a slab of slate let into the wall, there is a small bronze figure reposing upon a kind of bier, protected by delicate pillars, supporting a canopy. Above this, on a separate bronze plate, but upon the same slate slab, are inscribed these words :—

"In p. mem: Thomae T. Carter, qui olim hanc cancellam exornavit obdormivit in Christo xxviii. Oct: MCMI: et in agro vicino expectat Resurrectionem."

"My dear ——,

"I think you would like the following very touching incident for the Memoir.

"On Saturday last one of our servants was in Clewer churchyard tidying a grave belonging to her family. She noticed a middle-aged, grey-headed working man, who came to her and asked to be shown the Warden's grave. She took him to it, and called his attention to the white flowers lying upon it. He stood bareheaded, and tears ran down his face. 'As is fitting,' he said, 'and as he would have wished.' After a few minutes' silence he begged to be directed to 'the house in which he lived.' The Rectory and St. John's Lodge were both indicated, but before he went on he entered 'the church where he had so long ministered,' and he added, 'This place should indeed be reverenced. If I had not been ill and laid by at the time, I should have been at his funeral.'

"We do not know who the man was, he seemed to have come with a 'coster excursion' from London."

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